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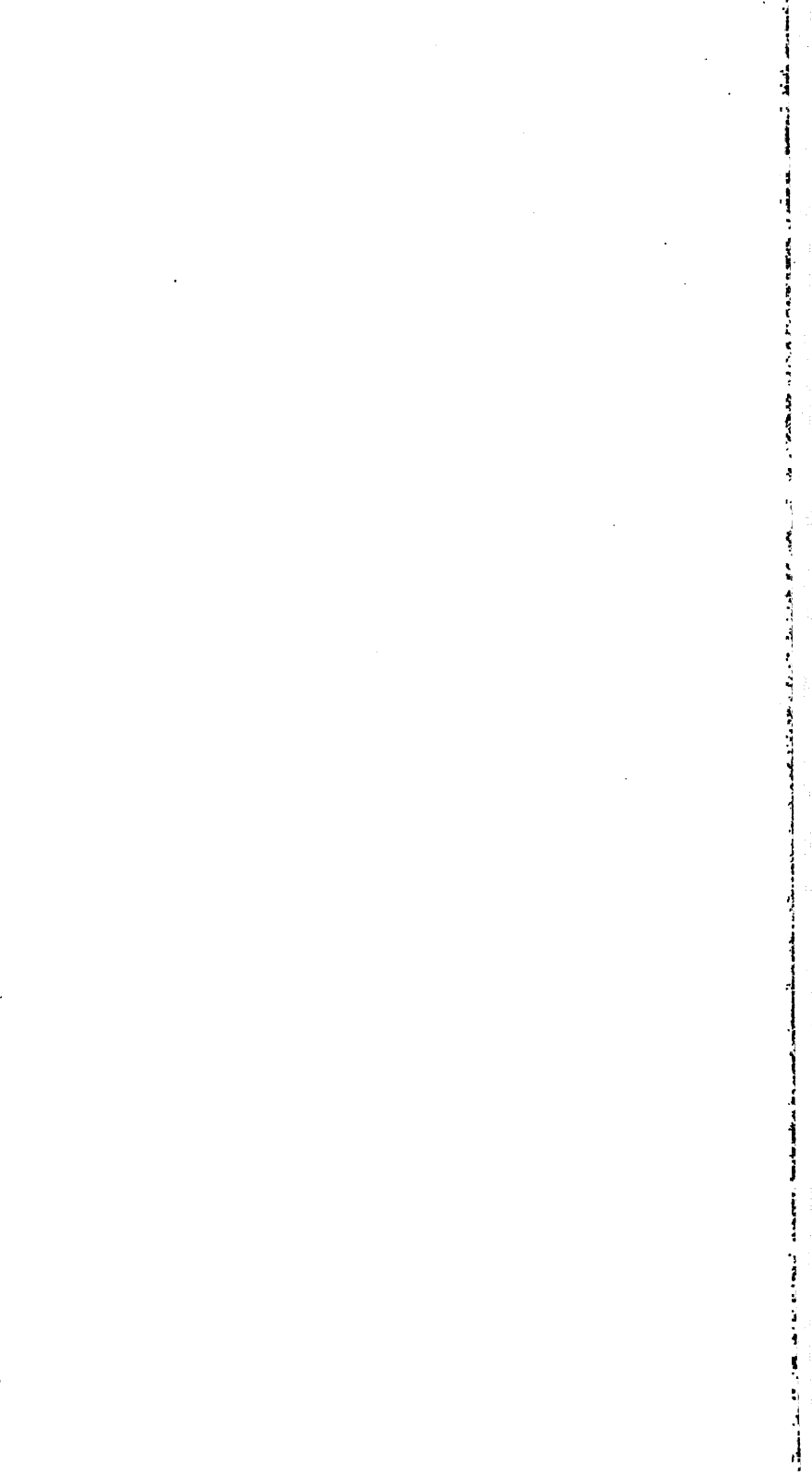
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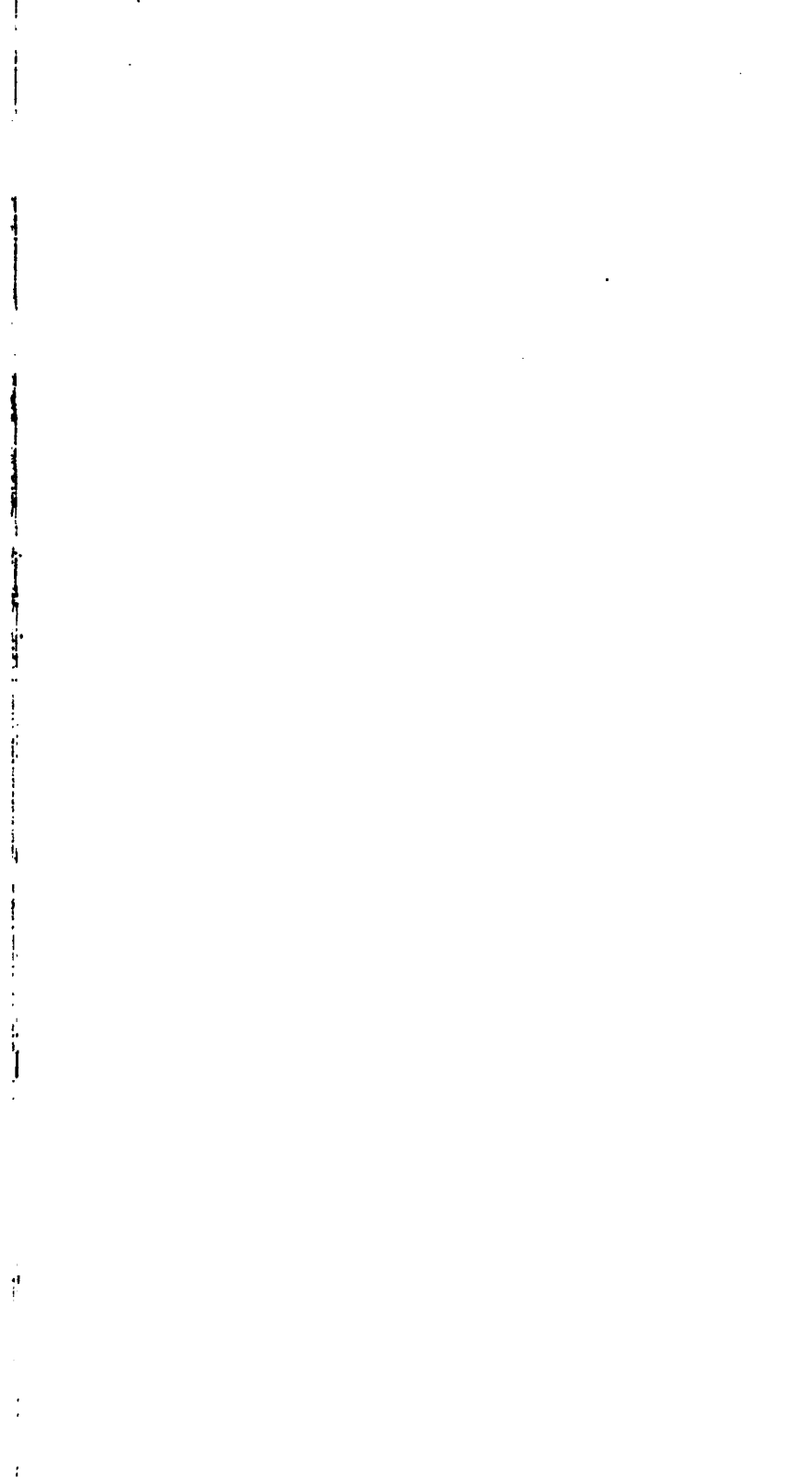
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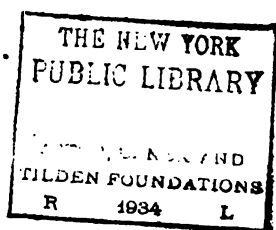
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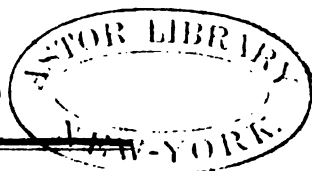
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, AND CRITICAL;

B ROBERT HERON, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY SAMUEL F. BRADFORD,

NO. 4, SOUTH THIRD-STREET.

H. MAXWELL, PRINTER.

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1804.

PROV WASH

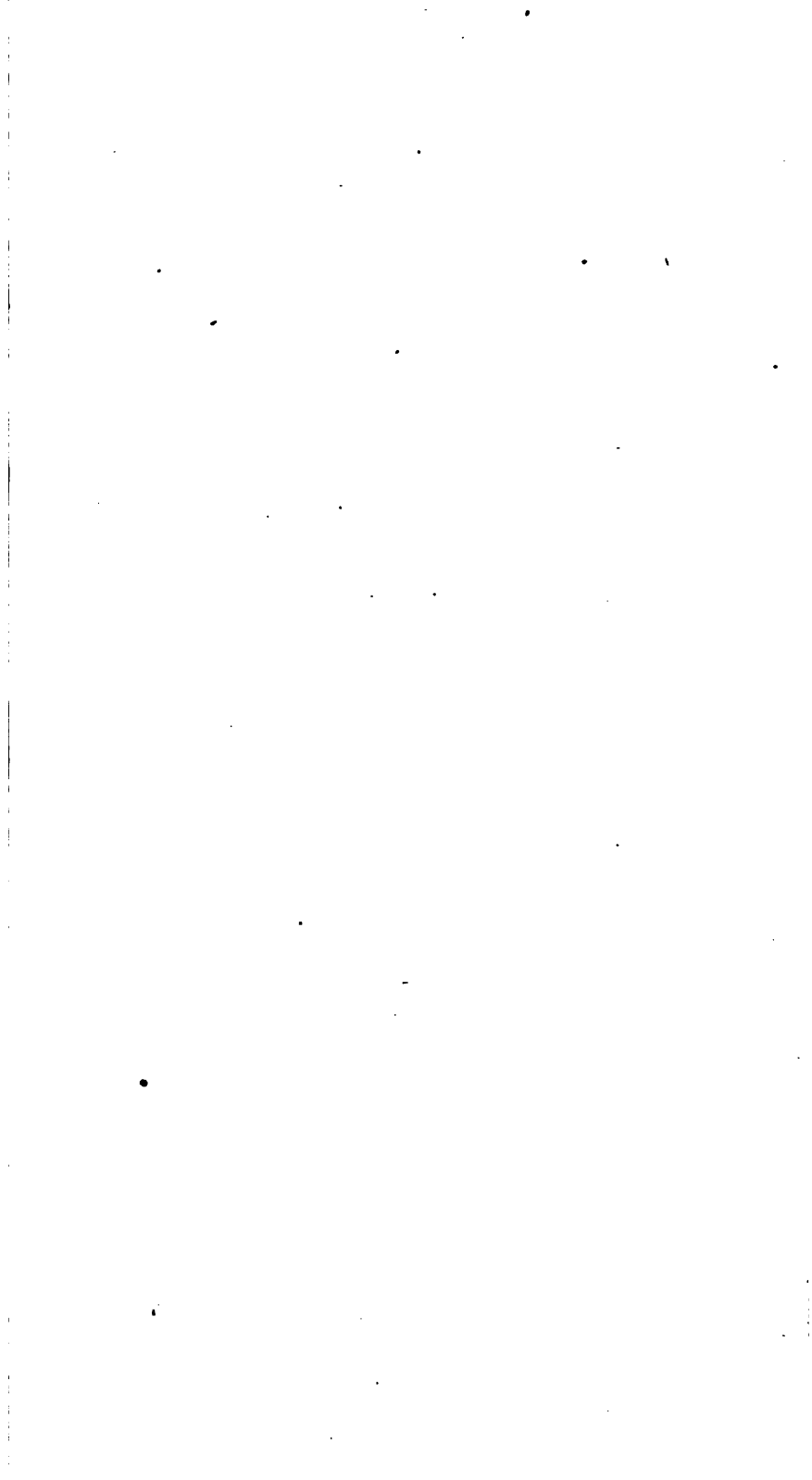
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ON THE
CHARACTER OF THE ELOQUENCE
OF JUNIUS,

VIEWED IN COMPARISON WITH THAT OF OTHER ORATORICAL WRITERS, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the popularity of these *LETTERS* of JUNIUS; there are not wanting detractors, who allege, that their fame has been owing more to lucky accidents, than to intrinsic merit; that they are still read, rather because they breathe the spirit of sedition, than as being pregnant with eloquence; that they are preserved, chiefly, by the salt of malignity; that their composition is not in a style of true taste or correctness; and that they display, in the whole, nothing either of that consummate art, or of that divine inspiration of native genius, which are necessary to constitute true oratorical excellence.

Had the writer of these pages thought thus; he would never have undertaken to become the Commentator of JUNIUS.

But, as such an opinion has been propagated; an inquiry into the essential nature of true eloquence, and a comparison of the merits of the best remains of ancient oratory, and the most admired specimens of that of the moderns, with the style, substance, and design of the *LETTERS* of JUNIUS,

seems indispensably requisite, to explain the true causes on which the undiminished popularity of these Letters depends. Besides, if it be true, as is commonly affirmed, that English Literature possesses no good didactic treatise upon Eloquence; and if the explication of principles may be associated, the most happily, with the examples in which the truth and importance of those principles are the most strikingly displayed; perhaps, a disquisition historical, philosophical, and critical, upon the essential and distinctive nature of eloquence, could be no where more seasonably placed, than in Introduction to the LETTERS of JUNIUS.

Upon such considerations, is the reader's attention invited to the following inquiry—

I. Animals, so far as their natural history is known to us, appear to be universally capable, each of *design* in itself, and of *apprehending* the existence of design in the minds of others. Signs addressed to the senses, are the media by which alone the designs of one animal can be made known to another. Every species of animals possesses a certain set of signs, which begin from the unpremeditated emotions of nature; but, even with the most unintelligent of creatures, become, in repeated use, more or less artificial. Every species of animals learn to infer, with more or less clearness and certainty, the presence of design, from all those great phenomena which act, with the most forcible impressions, upon their senses. One species may have their signs of communication confined to the perceptions of one sense: in another species, the signs may belong rather to a different sense: but to none does the use of such signs appear to be, by their nature, utterly denied.

Yet, there are great diversities, both in the perceptive, thinking powers, and in the communicative signs, of differ-

ent species of animals. Many of those which are called—*the Brutes*—are scarcely recognized, by the generality of mankind, as capable of any signs but barely the convulsive emotions of nature. Others use many signs of gesture, though few or none of voice. There are others among the brutes, which employ vocal signs, in no inconsiderable diversity, and with inflections of voice, and combinations of sounds, often remarkably artificial. For man, alone, is it reserved, to use systems of communicative signs,—in which native emotion is lost in artifice,—in which the senses have, each, a various series of artificial signs,—in which the signs become, in an eminent degree, the auxiliaries of complex thought,—in which refinement, abstraction, varied combination, are carried to the utmost pitch at which human intellect can conceive them to arrive,—in the use of which, the native powers of the individual, and of the species, are multiplied more than an hundred fold.

Extraordinary strength and delicacy of perception, with extraordinary justness and comprehension of design, constitute superiority of genius. *Extraordinary clearness and impressiveness in communicating one's thoughts, by means of signs, to others,*—are ELOQUENCE—in its simplest acceptance. In its complex character, in which it is regarded as one of the most elaborate of the useful arts, ELOQUENCE comprehends at once justness and comprehension of design, and clearness and forcible impressiveness in its communication.

Eloquence, when the word is taken in this general and elementary sense, is not peculiar to man, but is, in its simplest form, common also to all the inferior animals. The *lowest degree* of clearness and impressiveness in the communication of thought by signs, that is not incompatible with a sound state of the animal organs, shall not, in any

particular species, be called—ELOQUENT. But, the range of ELOQUENCE, in every different species, extends from that *lowest degree*, to the highest possible clearness and impressiveness of communication, of which any individual of the species can be capable. In the comparison of the ELOQUENCE of every different species of animals—with that of all the rest, we must reckon that species to be the most ELOQUENT of all, which, to the greatest power and variety of perception and design, joins the greatest clearness and impressiveness of communicative signs, in regard—not solely to the individuals belonging to itself, but to the greatest number of the whole species of the animal kingdom. It is by this rule we distinguish the ELOQUENCE of man, as exceeding that of every other living inhabitant of the earth.

Is there not a mute ELOQUENCE, irresistibly affecting, in the signs by which females of all the species of the lower animals express their tenderness for their young? How ELOQUENT the fawning and the clamours by which the creatures, that we tame and fondle in domestic life, demand food at our hands, or endeavour to avert menaced punishment! Among them, has not Love, with all its grossness, still its peculiar ELOQUENCE? The notes of the birds of song are, naturally, but the ELOQUENCE of desire; though they be, as it should seem, among some species, and in certain circumstances, actually improved into a sort of fine art, that bears, to the first simple sounds emitted by the bird, a relation nearly similar to that between our melodies and the tones of our common speech. The cries, the howlings, the roars, the gestures, the soft tones, of some of these animals, possess greater power than those of others, to make the emotions, by which they are prompted, impressively known to the human heart. The barkings of the shepherd's dog acquire, both in the artifice of their composition, and in

their design, a resemblance to the artificial speech, and to the premeditated ELOQUENCE, of man. The ELOQUENCE of the brutes in general, if, in compass of design, it be extremely narrow and imperfect, is, in impressiveness and clearness of communication, more than equal to that which is ordinarily exercised by men, in a refined state of social life.

II. Rhetoricians, philosophers, and whoever else commonly speak of ELOQUENCE, rarely descend to this subtlety of generalization, respecting its elementary nature. Its very name primarily implies, in almost all languages, *Articulate human speech*; and it is usually confined, in its utmost elevation and enlargement of meaning, to signify—only that *speech employed with a power of expression and a shrewdness of design, superior to what it is exercised with, by the generality of mankind, in the familiar converse of life*. That speech, indeed, is, in the notion of ELOQUENCE, often supposed to be accompanied with all the other signs which are capable of being congruously associated with articulate language, so as to augment and enforce its efficacy. Yet, this association is not steadily kept in view; and, while it is sometimes overlooked, and sometimes supposed of necessity to subsist, opinions extremely indistinct and inaccurate are unavoidably conceived, and propagated, respecting the essential nature, and the fundamental relations of true ELOQUENCE.

To have implicitly adopted the common notion of ELOQUENCE, would have been to confound a subordinate *genus* with a great *class*, and to run into an uncertainty in fundamental distinctions, by which it would have been rendered impossible to attain truth or clearness in the subsequent train of this inquiry. But, after distinguishing the existence, as

well of an ELOQUENCE of brute animals, as of that which is peculiar to man; we are, of course, to confine our views to the history and nature of *Human ELOQUENCE* only,—that we may discern—what rank among orators is to be assigned to the author of the *LETTERS* of JUNIUS.

Between the infancy of society, and the infancy of life in the human individual, there is a remarkable resemblance. The savage is, in many respects, always a child: the barbarian is but a vicious and froward boy. In the expression of their designs and sentiments, the savage, and the child of civilized life, use equally signs, which, being but little removed by artifice from the first simple convulsive emotions of nature, convey thought from one mind to another, much more impressively than if they involved more of refinement and art. The ELOQUENCE of the savage, and that of the infant, are alike powerful in expression, and weak in design. They communicate, with extraordinary force, the sentiments in the minds of their authors: but, they are without the contrivance and enlargement of views, necessary to persuade. They have power to make others adopt, from those who use them, designs simple in nature, and not adverse to the interests and prejudices of the persons addressed: but, they cannot recommend, because they never embrace, complex systems of action; nor are they adapted to subdue hostile prejudices and interests. They are lively and faithful interpreters between mind and mind: but, they are the language of feelings, untutored, and scarcely guided by reasoning.

What can be more ELOQUENT than the cries, the smiles, the outstretched hands, the eager gestures, the feeble embrace, the little angry emotions, the first imperfect articulations, of the infant as yet in its nurse's arms? Erasmus, in his *Praise of Folly*, has beautifully remarked the power.

of infancy, in this feeble and ignorant stage of its existence, to make its wants ELOQUENTLY known. But, then, it has no artifices by which to struggle with reluctance, to warm that indifference which resists the first voice of nature, or to turn into softness, that resentment which its little frowardnesses may excite. Its signs are few, belonging only to leading emotions: and its designs are short-sighted and narrow; because its knowledge of man or nature, is, as yet, but very small.

Such, also, is the ELOQUENCE of the savage tribes, whose manners have, in ancient or in modern times, been examined by men more enlightened than themselves. All the signs they use, are the creations of passion, and the very voice of the genuine ELOQUENCE of Nature. How strong the contortions of their features! How ardent the expression of their eyes! The tones of their voices irresistibly make their way to the heart. Even their first attempts at artificial ELOQUENCE, have in them, much more of Nature than of Art; and, if they affect at all, affect by a sort of electrical rapidity and force of communication from mind to mind. It is long before the signs they use, can be abstracted to the cold generality and refinement of an artificial system, embracing many of the complex ideas of reason. Even after they learn to make speeches in artificial language; the cold artificial part of those speeches is accompanied with the looks, the gestures, the tones of native passion, which endow it with an animation not its own. Being, as yet, novices in the art of abstraction, they refer perpetually in their speeches to *individual* objects, and to *sensible* things; and thus employ a glowing figurative ELOQUENCE, which, though to them natural, and the effect, not so much of vigour of genius as of a paucity of ideas, possesses extraordinary power over the springs of human emotion,—is, with extreme difficulty, produced by orators

who have been accustomed only to the cold language of abstraction,—and when, at any time, not above the best efforts of such orators, is accounted their most potent engine for the accomplishment of the purpose of their art. Design, artifice, a wide and accurate knowledge of the principles and the modifications of human character, complexity of structure, a skilful distinction and combination of parts, the power to give (amid persuasion) a refined pleasure to the imagination—the savage orator knows not eminently to exercise or produce; but, in the vivid and forcible expression of the feelings of nature, he is scarcely to be equalled by the most consummate master of the oratorical art, in its most elaborate and artificial form. The speeches of the Indian chiefs in North America; the pithy harangues of the Scythians of antiquity; the figurative brevity of the ELOQUENCE of the Lacedæmonians in the earlier times of their commonwealth; the remains of the poesy of the ancient Caledonians; the rude addresses which are related to have been made to our voyagers and travellers, by savages in many different parts of the world; are, all, of this species of ELOQUENCE. This is the FIRST ERA in the rise of human ELOQUENCE, in which its existence, as one of the incipient arts of life, can be clearly discerned.

Not that, even in liveliness and energy of expression, the ELOQUENCE of all savage hordes, must uniformly excel. There are states of sickness in the health, and languid torpor in the feelings of the infant, in which sensibility is imperfect, and all the exterior efforts and emotions are without vivacity. In the same manner, there are, in savage life, occasional degradations of all the powers of humanity, in which the human animal becomes incapable of keen sensation, of distinct perception, of any vivid and impressive communication of whatever may pass within it. Such, for in-

stance, is the condition of those miserable beings, cast on the most desolate coasts, or driven to the extremities of the habitable earth, who, from infancy to death, are, as it were, continually perishing under the utmost endurances of cold, hunger, and terror.

III. The history of mankind evinces, that the first rude **ELOQUENCE** of lively and vigorous savage life, is naturally liable to be superseded by an **ELOQUENCE** more artificial indeed, but less just in taste, and much less powerful.

It is at the first rise of the arts, that **ART** appears the most admirable, to those whom it is exercised to accommodate. To invent an useful art, is, to rise above the level of the first ignorant and helpless simplicity of savage life, infinitely higher than the ingenuity of the greatest discovery or invention of a civilized age, rises above the common intelligence of the age and country in which it is made. Only in that earliest period of society, are the inventors of arts exalted, in the imagination of men, to the rank of deities, on account of their inventions. While mankind see little or nothing but *natural* appearances and changes, whose relations of causation, gradations, connexions, and dependencies, they cannot comprehend; **HUMAN ART**, which seems, as it were, to create like Nature, yet of which they can better conceive the agency, commands, above all things else, their curious and delighted regard. Struck with its power and its general utility, they consider mere art itself, as something altogether divine. Of nature, they have before them, innumerable different appearances, among which to chuse: of the creations of art, they possess, as yet, too few, to compare them with one another, with any fastidious discrimination. The more, indeed, this art seems to recede from nature, the more fantastic the new combinations into which it assembles nature's elements and features;—so much

the more does it, at this æra of society please: for, so much the greater does the power of art appear; and so much the more of useful or mysterious authority over nature, does it seem to confer upon man. In the admiration and in the proud exercise of mere art, its genuine usefulness and beauty are, hence, apt to be, by the barbarian and savage, wholly, or almost wholly, forgotten. It is thus that the sudden, unexpected acquisition of any thing *new* and important, naturally betrays men, in every period of society, to abuse it. The sudden acquisition of unlooked-for wealth, hurries him, on whom it is bestowed, to vain unmeaning extravagance, and contemptible pride. An ingenious youth, when his mind opens to new knowledge, is liable to become conceited and pedantic, and to pervert that knowledge from its proper ends. A person eminently skilful in music, in dancing, in fencing, in riding, or in any other accomplishment, is apt to forget its just relation to the proper happiness and utility of his condition, and to devote himself to a degree that shall render him contemptible, and, perhaps, wretched, to the exclusive pursuit of that in which he is conscious of rare excellence. The principle in human nature by which men are hurried into such errors as these, is the same with that which leads savages and barbarians into an exercise of art, incompatible with taste and beauty.

In every art of barbarians, the influence of this principle is conspicuous: in none, more remarkably, than in their ELOQUENCE. It produces systems of gestures having no reference to the emotions of native feeling—those symbolical ceremonies which religion consecrates—fantastically artificial modes of regulating the tones of the voice, in formal speech,—alliterations, antitheses, rhymes, balanced sentences, such as occur in the poesy of the Hebrews, puns, and all the uncouth, yet laboured, formalities of barbarian

oratorical expression. These constitute that which, among barbarians, is accounted the art of ELOQUENCE, and is used as such, upon every occasion of grave, elaborate speaking, in their religious or political solemnities. The time when it prevails, is the second period in the advancement of artificial ELOQUENCE. *Metaphors* begin, in this period, to be used with a cold profusion; the effect, not of fervid passion, not of paucity of general ideas, but of the constant affectation of something laboriously artificial. The greater part of the Runic and Scandinavian poetry, most of the poetical remains of the ancient Welch, the first artificial forms of poetry and eloquence among the ancient Hebrews, all that has appeared elaborately fantastic in the speeches and poesy of people between the savage and the barbarian state, and whether in ancient or in modern times, belongs to the species of the ELOQUENCE of this *second period* in the general advancement of the art. Poetry may be comprehended, for this period, with ELOQUENCE: for, they are not originally two distinct arts; but one only; and their subdivision begins just where this period has its end. To the people among whom this ELOQUENCE prevails, it is highly delightful: to others, whether in a lower or a higher state of civility, it is disgusting and unintelligible. Over the passions, and the general persuasion of the mind, it possesses no power. Yet, these barbarians are not so far removed from the simplicity of nature, but that, on extraordinary occasions, native emotion bursts the fetters of their awkwardly laboured ELOQUENCE, and declares itself with the tones, the gestures, the figures of nature herself....*arte potentior omni*. On these occasions, the heart pours forth that sort of ELOQUENCE which belongs to former periods of the art, with some improvement, however, in the design. The artificial ELOQUENCE in general, of the *second period*, excels that of the *first*, in compass and perspicacity of design. But the design is necessarily frustrated, where cold unnatural artifice destroys the genuine energy of expression.

The history of human society presents many instances, in which fantastic barbarism of ELOQUENCE has had its reign exceedingly prolonged, in connexion with that of the barbarism of manners. Such, as the *Koran* sufficiently evinces, was the fate of ELOQUENCE among the Arabians. It was—it is such still, among the Persians, with all the servile disciples of their literature and language. Of the same style is almost all the literature of Hindostan, whether Arabic, Persian, or Sanscrit. Such, too, has been for ages, the ELOQUENCE, and all the ornamented literary composition, of the Chinese. Precisely of this character, was that which was known and admired in Europe, as formal ELOQUENCE and elegant writing, from the fifth almost to the fifteenth century of the Christian æra. Where nascent civility is blasted by a new invasion of barbarism; where local circumstances are unfavourable to the incessant mutual intercourse of all the members of a community; where a people are, on all hands surrounded by tribes or nations more savage and barbarous than themselves; where the reign of peace and justice has not yet commenced, or is incessantly disturbed and overthrown while it but begins to diffuse its blessings; where barbarian life is either too hopelessly destitute and wretched, or, without order and industry, too abundantly supplied with all the primary gratifications of sense; *in all these cases*, the natural improvement of the oratorical art, cannot but be retarded; and the *second* period of the progress of ELOQUENCE will, of course, be indefinitely prolonged. Other causes need not be sought to explain the prevalence of false taste, for so many ages, in the regions of the East, and in other parts of the World.

IV. Where the natural progress of ELOQUENCE is not interrupted, it soon advances into a *third stage*, in which formal speech and literary composition are, for the first time, subdivided into the two species of *Verse* and *Prose*.

This subdivision naturally takes place at that time when the tasteless and fantastic art employed in the improvement of the ELOQUENCE of the second period, renders that ELOQUENCE strikingly unfit for many of the subordinate uses of the formal communication or commemoration of thought among men. When, in the *first æra* of ELOQUENCE, there was nothing in it but the force of nature, the same species was necessarily common to all men. In its *second æra*, occasions for formal communication of thought were not so numerous as to demand the ordinary use of that one artificial species which prevailed. In this *third æra*, the increase of wealth, the diversification of the modes of peaceful activity, the expansion of the range of human thought and converse, the familiar and growing use of a considerably varied language of abstraction, concur with the inconveniences of that unnatural and artificial ELOQUENCE which is chiefly admired, to create a mode of composition and of formal speech, which, content with dry utility, aspires not to give the pleasure that is received from the refinements of poesy and eloquence. The greater the wealth, trade, industry, and freedom, of the rising community, so much the sooner does this separation of the species of ELOQUENCE commence. It is by totally interrupting or reversing the progress of social improvement among men, that tyranny and priestcraft have sometimes unnaturally prolonged the duration of the second æra in the history of ELOQUENCE.

The books of the History of the Old Testament, the most ancient prose compositions among the classical remains of the Greeks, much of the literature of the ancient Hindoos, the greater part of the writings of business and morality among the Chinese, with the earliest annals, and *true* and *simple* narratives in the history of all nations, are of the ELOQUENCE of this period. To it belong, also, the first

positive legislative institutions which are, in any nation, committed to writing. In the history of modern Europe, we are to refer to this sort of ELOQUENCE, almost all the Monkish chronicles and legends. The speeches of Nestor and several others of the characters of Homer, exhibit poetic imitations chiefly of this species of ELOQUENCE; though not without an intermixture of that which prevails in the earliest age of bold ardent savage life.

It is the discriminative character of the ELOQUENCE of *this æra*, to be cold, simple, tediously narrative, almost always awkward, and not seldom feebly inconclusive in the reasonings with which its narratives are necessarily intermingled. It embraces, as to information and persuasion, greater comprehension and shrewdness of design, than is to be discovered in the ELOQUENCE of either of the two former periods. It deals not in bold picturesque abstractions, the extemporary creations of the orator's mind, but in terms of abstraction of which the first metaphorical force is forgotten, and which have become merely signs suggesting the generalities of which they are significant—as faintly and coldly as alphabetical writing and the figures of mathematicians suggest the ideas of those substances in nature which they represent. It excludes, as much as possible, the glowing language, and all the fiery emotions of ardent passion. It does not mark the presence of an object rapidly—by one bold stroke of the pencil, but views it slowly, describes it part by part, and almost loses all force of impression in minute details. In its least happy specimens, it possesses little more of the power of nature, or of skill in design, than the ELOQUENCE of the preceding æra. In its better efforts, it delights, soothes, and gently insinuates itself into the heart, but never takes the strong-holds of passion and reason, as it were, by storm. The mind seems to be considerably passive in its productions. It is a mirror which

faithfully reflects those images of objects, which are cast upon it: but, it is one of the metallic mirrors of the ancients, giving but a faint reflection, not one in which all is clear, distinct, and striking, as the life itself. When it expresses passion willingly and successfully; that is the gentle, soft, and peaceful part of passion. It affects to describe rather objects in art than those in nature. It strives to be cold, reasoning, unadorned, and deeply wise. But, its best excellence is, when nature, decisively predominating over its unskilful art, produces in it lively paintings, ingenious sentiments, and forms of expression which, though naturally rude and awkward, acquire, to the hearer's or reader's mind, a dignity, a beauty, a picturesque power, which they did not originally possess. In the representation of nature and of human life, it exercises very little power of discrimination or selection. It gives dialogues with the irregularities and little digressions which actually take place in them: it mingles the description of deformities with that of beauties just as they appear associated in nature: it displays all the workings of the heart with a fidelity which compensates in part for confusion and feebleness.

The narratives in the noble Universal History of Herodotus, the speeches which are in that history introduced, the artless dramatic narrations in the books of our Old Testament, the sayings of the old Grecian philosophers, and the Roman laws of the Twelve Tables, strikingly exemplify, in all its minutiae, the *costume*—the very form and pressure of this species of ELOQUENCE. In enlightened ages, it obtains praise exceeding its genuine desert. It even acquires with philosophers at least—of more polished taste, a power which it did not exercise over the minds of those to whom it was originally addressed. The artlessness and candour which accompany its cold simplicity, render them often inexpressibly interesting. The truth and the design of its

paintings, seem sufficiently to compensate for their uncouth rudeness. Its antiquity renders it venerable; and the humility of its pretensions recommends it even to the favour of our tacit self-conceit—It is the ELOQUENCE of sincere, unpretending ignorance; and it gives, by consequence, more of artless, undisguised humour, than any other sort of composition that has equal extent and regularity of design. In the epic poesy of an early age, such as that of Homer, and in the early drama of all nations, this ELOQUENCE of the *third æra* is associated—with the bursts of passion which belong peculiarly to the first æra, with those tricks of art which had their origin in the second æra, and with some of those inventions of taste and genius which are beginning to raise poesy to its true perfection as a peculiar art.

The reign of this sort of ELOQUENCE, as of that of the æra immediately preceding, has been often unnaturally prolonged, by the influence of causes inauspiciously retarding the general civilization and refinement of mankind. In Greece—or at least in Greece and Rome—alone of all countries of whose arts and knowledge the history is known to us, does the *third æra*, in the progress of ELOQUENCE, appear to have terminated as soon as might, in the natural, unhalting progress of civility, be fairly expected.—Arbitrary and military government,—barbarous but powerful superstitions,—the dispersion of men over a country so thinly that they must remain generally apart from that converse in which, *as iron sharpeneth iron, so doth the face of a man his friend*,—the preference of *dead* to the culture of *living* languages,—poverty excluding the access of the fine arts,—a state of society leaving nothing desirable to be obtained but by oppression, servitude, martial fierceness, sly mercantile deceit, or rough sullen labour—*these* have been generally the causes by which the improvement of ELO-

QUENCE has been arrested in this *third period* of its progress. In all the countries of the east, the ELOQUENCE of the *third æra* still prevails in unequal and tasteless association with that of the *second*.

From the fifth to the fifteenth century of the Christian epoch, the ELOQUENCE of those two æras prevailed in all the countries of Europe which were not utterly savage,—to the entire exclusion of that which had been exemplified in the models of a happier age. In Italy, and in most other countries of Europe, the ELOQUENCE of *oral harangues* has, even yet, scarcely risen above the imperfection of the combination of the examples of the third and second periods in the progress of the art. Not only in literary composition, but in the tones, grimaces, and gestures accompanying it, has the ELOQUENCE of the Roman Catholic pulpit remained almost every where in this state of meagreness, conjoined with false taste. Even in most Protestant countries, the ELOQUENCE of the pulpit is still of the same base species. The ELOQUENCE of *legislation* is almost universally of one of the least happy combinations of the ELOQUENCE of the second æra with that of the third. The varieties of this combination are numerous. They long reign, even in competition with the better perfection of the art. They are not such as must necessarily arise in the progress of ELOQUENCE from its origin to its highest improvement; but spring up where that progress is, by unfavourable circumstances, more or less interrupted: and are preserved by the same causes, inauspicious to human art and knowledge, from which they were, at first, produced. While men, in the same age and country, remain in different states in the progress of civilization; while barbarism still embraces civility too forcibly to be shaken from her; this false ELOQUENCE cannot but continue to maintain its existence even in the countries

which are, above all others, the most polished and enlightened.

V. The *first* age in the progress of the art of Human ELOQUENCE, gave only an exceedingly inartificial expression of the strong emotions of nature. The *second*, delighted with the mere invention and power of art, while it wanted the advantages which might have been derived from the comparison of many artificial productions with one another, contrived to lose, in fantastic tricks, the genuine expression of nature. The *third*, with enlargement of design, seeking homely utility, not presuming to aspire to the refinements of art, produced what—in native innocence and simplicity of purpose—and not less in cautious though feeble extension of views,—presented a sort of contrast to the ELOQUENCE of the two former periods, and yet exhibited, in truth, much more of a composition mingling those things which were peculiar to them both, than of any new creation, the effect of its own powers alone.

The progress of the art of ELOQUENCE among mankind, has known as yet but a *fourth* period; and, if we may presume to look with prophetic eye into futurity, shall know but one other period.

It is not the lapse of time, but the advancement of knowledge, refinement, and civility, by which the commencement of this *fourth period* in the progress of ELOQUENCE is liable to be hastened or retarded. Only in Greece and Rome, of all the ancient world, does it appear to have begun. There are but a few countries in modern Europe, —and in the western hemisphere, the united Anglo-American States, in which, of all the world, it can be, at present said to exist. It exhibits almost the last perfection in the combination of the power of *useful*, with that of *amusive*

speaking or composition, for the grand purposes of instruction or persuasion.

What constitutes the perfection of the ELOQUENCE of this fourth period?—*Chiefly the perfection of general design.*—It is not the mere convulsive cry of a being that can feel but scarcely reflect,—that, though capable of clear perception, is as yet almost a stranger to the power of abstraction: It is not the petty and fantastic art of one that can trifle with endless pains in the unsuitable decoration of a part, but is unable to conceive the propriety and the full effect of the combination of parts in one whole: It is *the expression of some grand purpose of instruction, either ingenuous or pretended,—with that view of the dispositions and characters of the persons, with that discerning consciousness of the principles in the characters of the writer or speaker, with that acquaintance with the subject of which he speaks, with that force and vivacity of sentiment, with that unambiguous clearness and that indigressive closeness of reasoning, with that imagery almost creating fancy in the reader or hearer by whom it was not naturally possessed, with that language of abstraction sufficient for the uses of combination and reasoning, and with that language of individuality and nature equal to the ends of excitement and impression,—which are, in every instance of all these particulars, the fittest possible, in the present circumstances, to enable the speaker or writer to convince—to the effect of directing conduct—the mind of the reader or hearer to whom he expressly addresses himself.* This is the specific idea. But, there are many varieties in its actual exemplification. In no instance, perhaps, have human art and genius produced ELOQUENCE fully worthy of this definition. Even the greatest orators of the best ages have but made approaches to it.

In order to the origination of this ELOQUENCE in any particular stage of the progress of social life, a multitude of circumstances, not commonly in the command of man, are, of necessity, required. It is necessary, that those three ruder forms of ELOQUENCE, which we have already described, should precede the commencement of this one. That variety of arts, those customs, those diversities, and that frequency of social intercourse, must have taken their rise, by which, alone, the powers of the human character can be fully developed, man brought, as it were, into mental contact with man, and designs inspired, which shall comprehend an extensive number of the truest utilities of human life. Nor are these advantages, alone, sufficient. The free unawed exertions of mind towards the persuasion of mind, must be, where this perfection of ELOQUENCE is to arise, the surest means of raising mankind to the most envied heights of avarice and ambition. In the society which it is to adorn, there must be much industry, much meditation, much of mutual converse. Language, literature, and ethical philosophy, must have made considerable advancement to a highly perfect state. The science, which arises out of the artificial practices of life, must have attained to considerable extent and perfection; and must have begun to be reciprocally applied with success, for the improvement of the arts to which it owes its origin. The perfection of art must be well understood to consist in its direct subserviency to the best utilities of life, and in the felicity and skill with which it imitates the finest forms, and the most delicately beautiful congruities of nature.

It will not, at least, be denied, that all these advantages concurred to the formation and improvement of Grecian ELOQUENCE, at the time when it first appeared in that form, which distinguishes the *fourth æra*, of its progress as

an art. Dialectics, mathematics, ethics, politics, poesy, music, dancing, painting, sculpture, architecture, were then cultivated in Greece, with great earnestness and success. Almost all the mechanical arts were practised with dexterity, diligence, and ingenious skill. The local situations of the Greeks,—their political unions and subdivisions, their commerce,—their religious and political festivals,—their mode of life which was chiefly in public, and in towns and villages,—their republican government which created a market for the commodity of ELOQUENCE, by making it the most powerful of all engines for the gratification of avarice and ambition,—were circumstances, which, in addition to those other causes, acted with necessary and infallible efficacy to produce that ELOQUENCE, exalted into a regular and almost consummately perfect art, for which the Greeks were long the most eminent among mankind. Could their ELOQUENCE, without the concurrence of these favouring circumstances, have become so perfect? No: without the operation of such causes, no such ELOQUENCE has ever yet arisen among the rest of mankind.

The Romans possessed, in their republican government, and in many other circumstances in their character and condition as a people, most of the earlier advantages for the culture of ELOQUENCE, which were enjoyed by the Greeks. Nor did they attain to their highest eminence in this art, till the introduction of Grecian arts and science into Rome, had equalled their advantages with those which the Greeks possessed from the age of Pericles to that of Demosthenes.

The ELOQUENCE of both the Greeks and the Romans was perverted and overthrown by changes which took away its high rewards, and, at the same time, augmented the difficulties of its cultivation. Not till after many centuries had

passed, was this art to be again any where exercised in that perfection which distinguishes the fourth period of its progress, as a particular art. When it experienced this renovation, the same circumstances were again to conspire for its improvement. The religion and the governments of modern Europe were such, at the æra of the restoration of letters, as to exclude, alike, the culture of that genuine ELOQUENCE in courts and assemblies of the people, which adorned the fairest ages of Greece and Rome. But, the invention of printing had bestowed on *written* ELOQUENCE, an advantage enlarging its powers, and prompting its cultivation, that astonishingly exceeded all the best advantages which the ancient orators had possessed. A great republic of *writers* and *readers* was created in Europe: and, in this republic, the writers possessed all the powers of the orators of old, and were prompted to exertion, as well as guided in their efforts, by the same excitements and rules of taste by which the best orators of antiquity had been stimulated and directed. They had more: they had,—in the remaining specimens of ancient oratory and poesy, and in the ethical instruction with which those were filled,—models, in imitating which, they could aspire at once exceedingly above the natural level of the ELOQUENCE of their own age. By such means was produced, in modern Europe, soon after the æra of the revival of literature, an ELOQUENCE, written and printed, which might be regarded as not unworthy of the *fourth æra* in the progress of the art. The disadvantage of writing in a dead language, and the barbarous imperfection of all the systems of speech which were then in use in Europe, for a while hindered that printed ELOQUENCE from rising to the perfection which it might have, otherwise, at once obtained. But these unfavourable circumstances have been surmounted, by the gradual refinement of the Italian, the Spanish, the French, the English, and the German languages: And authors are the

great orators of modern times : And the press is the rostrum from which the forum of the public is now the most powerfully addressed.

It was, however, impossible, that, amid the general increase of human intelligence, and the augmented frequency of social converse, there should not arise occasions for the renewed cultivation of the best forms of *oral* ELOQUENCE. Even the reformation of religion, however, did not immediately create, in this province, any thing in ELOQUENCE worthy to be compared with the compositions of the orators of Greece and Rome. The Protestant preachers of France, Germany, and England, long joined, in their pulpit discourses, the barbarous and fantastic art of the *second period*, with the simplicity of the *third*, and sometimes with a small portion of the genuine fire of the *first*, without attaining to that tincture of the force of nature, with the best skill of art, which belongs to the ELOQUENCE of the *fourth* period alone. It was gradually improved,—in no instance, however, to an equality with the ELOQUENCE of the ancients, in which composition was so happily associated with all the best advantages of voice, gesture, and looks. At the court of France, indeed, the ambition of the fame of ELOQUENCE, an industrious imitation of the models of that of antiquity, a consciousness of high ecclesiastical authority, and the knowledge that pulpit ELOQUENCE, would procure every envied advantage to those who excelled in it,—produced, from the Roman Catholic clergy, many efforts in this art, about the beginning of the eighteenth century,—in which a considerable approach appears to have been made to the best excellence of Roman ELOQUENCE in the age—not, indeed, of Cicero—but of Pliny. In Britain, the ELOQUENCE of the pulpit has never been other than—either that merely of printed composition,—or of an uncouth mixture of the species of the first, second, and third æras

of the art. It begins at present to decline, in consequence of the general neglect of religion, and of the frivolity of the minds, and the scantiness of the knowledge of those, by whom it is chiefly exercised. The very same causes corrupted and destroyed the ELOQUENCE of the ancient Romans, in the reigns of their emperors.

The existence of laws and stable governments likewise produced necessities and encouragements which, in the general circumstances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were adapted to create, in the pleadings before courts of justice, an ELOQUENCE, perhaps, not unworthy of that of the orators of Greece and Rome. The causes of litigation arose out of all the conditions and affairs of social life. The market for the sale of this ELOQUENCE was as wide as the range of litigation: almost all the wealth of the community was at its command: its power was bounded only by the integrity of judges, the stability of government, and the clearness and rectitude of the laws. The persons who were to exercise this art, had previous opportunity to study the best models of the ELOQUENCE of ancient and modern times. In Italy, in France, in Germany, in Scotland, England, Ireland, and America, specimens have hence been exhibited of an ELOQUENCE of *judicial pleading*, which, however defective in many of the best qualities of true oratory, approaches nearer than any thing else of modern times, to the character of the pleadings before the graver and more solemn courts of antiquity.

In popular governments, there is an incessant and open contest of mind labouring to predominate over mind in the direction of the general policy of the State. The highest emoluments and honours are usually to be found in the guiding of the public will and force. To this, all are per-

mitted to aspire: and the ambition of attaining it, produces the greatest efforts of human talents, whether in ELOQUENCE or in military exertion. Hence, principally, came the perfection of the ELOQUENCE of Greece and Rome. But, in modern times, *first* the barbarism and ignorance of the feudal ages,—and *afterwards*, in most European countries, the establishment of governments excluding the generous competition of ELOQUENCE,—have hindered this best of all the schools for this art—from being generally opened. In Britain alone, the feudal parliaments were formed, at last, into numerous deliberative assemblies, in which there was scope for the exercise of the noblest species of the ELOQUENCE of the *fourth period*. From the reign of Charles the first to this close of the eighteenth century, specimens of such ELOQUENCE have been—not regularly, but occasionally—exhibited, particularly in the English or in the British House of Commons. Whenever the government has enjoyed great strength and stability, this ELOQUENCE has been less conspicuously exercised. At the beginning of the regicide war against Charles the first; in the contests relative to the Exclusion-bill, in the last years of the reign of Charles the second; in the contentions of the Whigs with the Tories—under king William—and towards the end of the reign of queen Anne; in the discussions which preceded, by a few years, the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole; in the contests for the overthrow of the aristocratical whigs, from the beginning of the present reign to the close of the American war; in the contention relative to the regency; and, perhaps, also about the beginning of the present war; the English—the British House of Commons, and, at times, also the House of Lords, have been the scenes of some of the most admirable efforts of ELOQUENCE.—The Scottish parliament was not less so, in the debates of a few of its sessions immediately previous to the completion of the Union.—The moment when genuine

ELOQUENCE predominated in the parliament of Ireland, was, when that parliament effected its emancipation from legislative subserviency to the parliament of Great Britain. It does not appear, that the efforts of genuine ELOQUENCE in the debates of the parliament of Ireland, relative to that Union with Great Britain which has just been accomplished, were adequate, either to the dignity of the occasion, or to the fierce collision of angry passions which it produced.

The printed compositions of the moderns, addressed to the public, in the three last centuries, have been already observed to comprehend one grand subdivision of the ELOQUENCE of this *fourth period*. The ELOQUENCE of judicial pleadings, is by its essential nature, little capable of being exercised with advantage, through the channel of the press. But, whatever is addressed to influence public opinion in general, especially in matters which either are, or may become, the subjects of legislative regulation, is in the highest degree, susceptible of being transmitted with the effect of popular ELOQUENCE, through the press. Where the liberty of the press is under the controul of arbitrary governments, it cannot be used as a medium for the communication of *popular* ELOQUENCE to those on whom it is intended to operate. In Britain, however, that liberty has seldom been oppressively controuled: and the press, much more than the discussions of the senate, has consequently become the grand engine for acting on public opinion, in matters of politics, in the same manner as a Cleon, a Demosthenes, a Gracchus, and a Cicero acted upon it, in Athens and in Rome. ALL WRITERS on the comparative merits of ancient and modern ELOQUENCE, have invariably overlooked the operation of that of the moderns in this channel: Yet it is, in truth, through the press only, that popular ELOQUENCE can be, in modern times, extensively

and effectually exercised. In Britain almost alone, has it been thus employed for the regulation of government, in forms worthy of the fairest period in the history of the art. Since the reign of Elizabeth to the present time, the political ELOQUENCE of the press has produced, in this country, effects transcending, beyond what is easily to be conceived, the most surprising and splendid instances of the power of ELOQUENCE in any different form, or any prior age. In the contentions which formed the prelude to the civil wars in the last century, it acted, for the first time, in England, with mighty power. From the commencement of that troublesome period, to the very æra of the Restoration, it continued to be employed with the utmost earnestness and success. The papers which were mutually published between Charles and his parliament, as representations to the people, were in many instances, composed in a strain of ELOQUENCE, the most impressive. The noble *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* by Milton, was, notwithstanding the disadvantages of a dead language, an extraordinary effort of this sort of ELOQUENCE. The papers of William Allen, against Cromwell, were of rare excellence and power in the same class of compositions. Throughout the reigns of Charles the Second, and his brother James, even to the very æra of the Revolution, though ELOQUENCE was active in its exertions in the senate and in the pulpit, it was scarcely less so, from the press. Many, indeed, of its most vigorous and successful productions, were such as can scarcely seem to have attained to the dignity of the ELOQUENCE of the fourth period. But, the press was during those reigns, subject to troublesome and dangerous restraints; and it was with difficulty that ELOQUENCE could at that time, make its way at all to the minds of the people, through a channel so much disturbed. The Revolution restored the press to full liberty: and between that æra, and the accession of the House of Hanover to the

throne of England, the political ELOQUENCE of the press attained even to a gigantic height of power. It was in this period, that Somers, Burnet, Swift, Addison, Steele, Mainwaring, Prior, Atterbury, Davenant, Defoe, produced their best pieces. The ability of Swift in this species of ELOQUENCE, greatly transcended that of all the others. The famous Philip, Duke of Wharton, when he had scarcely passed out of the age of childhood, produced, in his *True Britons*, some of the finest specimens which the English language even yet possesses of this political ELOQUENCE of the press. Bolingbroke, Pulteney, Lord Harvey, Lord Carteret, were the chief writers who addressed and influenced public opinion in this way, during a great part of the reign of George the Second. The political ELOQUENCE of the press began then to be, not transiently and occasionally, but regularly exercised, as a means for the constant government of public opinion. Campbell, Smollett, Shebbeare, Johnson, exercised this art, with effect perhaps not more powerful, but certainly with more of grace and dignity, towards the æra of the accession of our present Sovereign. The struggle between parties—with which this reign began, the increasing illumination of the public mind, and the disposition which our present Sovereign earnestly shewed—to govern according to the wishes of his people, excited, from the very beginning of his reign, an extraordinary zeal to cultivate the political ELOQUENCE of the press. A great mass of ELOQUENCE of this sort was put into motion: its efficacy in action, was great: but, the matter was unworthy equally of the age, and of its own effects. The people were—as it were—a barrel of gunpowder: And a faint spark from a glimmering rush-light, was sufficient to blow them up. The debates in parliament began to be daily reported in the newspapers; and did hence, much more to guide the political sentiments of the nation, by their operation as ELOQUENCE of the press, than by their

influence in swaying the determinations of the senate. The author of the Letters of JUNIUS stood forth; and, from the press, addressed the people in a strain of ELOQUENCE, which blasted with the force of lightning, and excited admiration, as if it had exhibited the sudden exercise of mysterious and supernatural power. JOHNSON opposed him, with force of argument and fire of sentiment, not inferior to his own, but with a predominancy of seemingly cold and laboured art—allied to the taste of the second æra of ELOQUENCE, that materially weakened the strength of effect with which he might otherwise have written. In political pamphlets, in the daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly periodical publications, and in a great diversity of forms, the political ELOQUENCE of the press has since continued to be employed upon public opinion, even more diligently and successfully than at any time before. About the æra of the French Revolution, its power had begun to become mischievously great. It has been subjected to some not unsalutary restraint. It still operates with mighty efficacy. It is, especially in this department of its culture and agency, that modern ELOQUENCE may hope improvements, which shall raise it to a superiority over the best ELOQUENCE of ancient times.

Another branch of the printed popular ELOQUENCE of modern times, is, that of controversial works or memorials, in which personal defence is associated with the earnest support of some peculiar opinions in religion or philosophy. No man ever writes so well, as when he writes to promote his own dearest interests. To recommend a theory or prejudice of one's own; to vindicate one's self from the charge of weakness or dishonour; to support against fierce impugnement, any favourite series of sentiments; in short, to defend one's self on any occasion, on which the faculties are not absolutely palsied by the sense of danger; confers a per-

spicacity of judgment, a vigour of conception, a comprehensive skill in design, and a power of fancy and of passion, which exceeds whatever the genius of man can, in other circumstances, be capable of. Hence, in some works of logical controversy, of which the writers were deeply interested in the fate of their opinions, such as the *Religion of Protestants vindicated* by CHILLINGWORTH, and the *Lettres Provinciales* by PASCAL, an ELOQUENCE, perhaps incomparably powerful, has been exemplified. Hence the wonderful power of the Eloquence of Rousseau, in his Letters to the Archbishop of Paris, to D'Alembert, to those who wrote against his Prize-Essay on the Arts and Sciences, in his own Confessions, and in the Vicar of Savoy's Confession of Faith, &c. Hence the admirable power of GIBBON, in his *Answer to Davis*,—a power of true ELOQUENCE, greatly exceeding whatever he has in his other works displayed. Hence, too, the charm which we find in the writings of truly great men, whenever they are reduced to touch in occasional digression upon the circumstances of their own lives. And hence the power with which those who are otherwise incapable of ELOQUENCE are observed to speak or write,—even as if a miracle like that of the inspiration of Balaam's ass were performed on them, whenever their life or fortune is in extreme danger. Of this species of ELOQUENCE of the press, modern times have produced various examples which cannot be too highly praised. They belong to the *fourth period* in the progress of the art. They are undeniably among its best ornaments.

In the living voice, indeed,—in the expression of features, the attitude, the gestures which accompany it,—in time, place, and circumstance,—in the sympathies by which all the members of an audience are naturally and almost unconsciously led to adopt any sentiment the more readily, because the emotions of others around, evince that they

also, adopt it,—in these peculiarities, oral ELOQUENCE enjoys mighty advantages, which can by no art be conferred on the ELOQUENCE of the press. But, the ELOQUENCE of the press, in the greater extensiveness and permanency of its operation,—in its flattering the mind with the notion, that the conviction it impresses, is received by native discernment and by choice,—in its allowing leisure for the full intelligence of what is advanced,—seems to possess advantages more than sufficient to compensate for all that it loses, by not being orally delivered.

V. To what æra, then, in the progress of ELOQUENCE,—to what rank among the oratorical productions of that particular æra,—shall we refer the LETTERS OF JUNIUS?

It is not by difference in time, but by changes in the character of its productions, that we distinguish the progress of ELOQUENCE into so many separate æras. Not, therefore, because these LETTERS were written in the latter part of the eighteenth century,—but because their composition is akin to that of Cicero, of Demosthenes, of Burke, of Rousseau,—are they to be ranked among the best models of the happiest age of the Eloquence whether of ancient or of modern times. They possess, undeniably, the fire of sentiment, that boldness and picturesque power of imagery, that skilful comprehension and pointedness of design, that labour in the parts, and that happy artifice in the combination of these into a whole, which cannot but exalt any oratorical performance to be numbered with the compositions of the most enlightened æra of the art.

To distinguish what rank he holds among the orators of the æra to which his LETTERS cannot be denied to belong, it will be necessary to institute an accurate comparison between JUNIUS and the other great masters in ELOQUENCE,

in which we must examine the particular merits of each of them, in all the essential excellencies of that species of exertion in which they are rivals.

1. The *first* of these excellencies, is enlightened, unprejudiced, disinterested PURITY OF DESIGN. In this quality, I am inclined to think, that every other orator of every age must yield to DEMOSTHENES. DEMOSTHENES alone discerned and steadily pursued the true interest of his country, in his opposition to the artifices and the arms of Philip. To preserve to Athens, the ascendancy among the Grecian States, to save the Republics from sinking into subjection to a Barbarian Monarch, to maintain in the most civilized country of the world, that political arrangement of the people under which alone its arts, its science, its virtues, had been known to flourish, to revive the energy of their ancient republican virtue in the hearts of the Greeks. These were the express objects: to accomplish which, the great Grecian orator exercised his ELOQUENCE. He discerned the true interests of Greece: he pursued them steadily: to the care of promoting them, he sacrificed all the sordid cares of private interest and base-minded ambition.

Review the orations of CICERO.—How very inferior in *purity and elevation of DESIGN* to DEMOSTHENES, does he not, incontestibly, appear? Even when, with almost all the vigilance and ineludible penetration of a God, he probes the soul, and detects the guilt of a *Catiline*; the prejudices and arts of the devoted member of a party, are not less conspicuous amid the thunder of his harangues, than the sublime beneficence and integrity of the patriot. In the speeches of the prosecution against *Verres*, you see chiefly the young man striving to raise himself to political and oratorical importance, as the advocate of a splendid and popu-

lar cause. In the invectives against Anthony, personal resentment and party-zeal are much more apparent than the generous spirit and the sublime views of pure and enlightened patriotism, discerning and preferring nothing but the public good.

The speeches in the historical works of *Tacitus* and *Livy*, are merely the exercises of men of letters, writing to obtain the *fame* of literature and elegance; actuated, indeed, by virtuous principles; but making no direct application of their powers and efforts of persuasion, to accomplish any great, immediate good in active life.

Hooker and *Chillingworth*, entitled much more to the reputation of Orators, than many of those to whom it has been attributed, may, perhaps, be justly named in rivalry with Demosthenes, for the *purity*, the *sublimity*, and the enlightened *comprehension* of DESIGN, with which they composed their two immortal works. Those works were addressed, to produce immediate effects on the opinions by which active life is guided. They were written without selfish interests, without religious bigotry, without party prejudice. They carry with them a demonstration that must have been accompanied with ardent conviction in the minds of their authors. Such authors are truly worthy to be named in comparison with Demosthenes.

It may be doubted, whether even the virtuous and enlightened genius of PASCAL was exercised, in the admirable *Lettres Provinciales*, with a sacred *purity of intention* equal to that of Hooker and Chillingworth. He wrote with the prejudices of Jansenism, with the party-spirit of a devoted friend to the Society of Port-Royal. Otherwise considered, those Letters are composed with a force and art of persua-

sive ELOQUENCE, worthy of the best productions of the fairest age in the history of this art.

Had the parliamentary harangues of the great Earl of CHATHAM even been published by himself; and polished for the press with all the elaborate pains in composition, of a Demosthenes or a Cicero; yet, at least in the praise of *exalted purity of design*,—they must not have been ranked with the works of a Demosthenes, a Chillingworth, and a Hooker. Chatham was a great and good man.—Peace to his ashes! Immortal honour to his name! But, the love of power, the spirit of contention, the pride of over-bearing genius, the lust of popular applause, cannot be denied, even by his greatest admirers, to have acted as leading principles in prompting his ELOQUENCE.

To the late Mr. BURKE, the praise of ELOQUENCE and Virtue are signally due. But, he was the orator of a party. He accepted employment for a piece of bread among the Aristocratical Whigs: and he devoted himself to their service, with a sincerity and zeal which embraced all their interests and prejudices. In all his parliamentary harangues, in all his other treatises, he gives but theories contrived to justify party opinions, enthusiastic fancies, or even popular errors in practical science, which he had, before, hastily conceived, or inconsiderately taken up. In discernment of the real good of his country, and in unbiassed prosecution of that only, he must be confessed, by his warmest admirers, to fall infinitely short of the great orator of the Greeks.

Still less can the praise of unblemished purity of design, be attributed to the author of these Letters of JUNIUS. To overthrow a ministry, to gratify and sway the minds of a populace, to oppose a system for the abolition of national distinctions and party prejudices, to indulge secret disgusts,

jealousies or resentments rankling at his heart, to obtain the praise of unrivalled excellence in literary composition, were probably the leading purposes with which this author wrote. He co-operated, but without true patriot design, for the redress of wrongs which the long reign of Aristocratical Whiggism, and, lately, the inexperienced zeal of Toryism, had inflicted on the constitution. In his invectives against particular persons, he descended into a malignity of attack, which, however effectual toward the ends he had in view, was utterly incompatible with exalted rectitude of design. He disdained not to mingle in the miserable bustle of ochlocracy, with as much readiness for wild mischief as if he had been, in truth, a man of weak understanding.

2. But, in that *design* which adapts all the means as happily as possible to the end in view, JUNIUS is inferior to no other orator of any age. Demosthenes might accommodate his speeches, to sway the resolutions of the Athenians with a knowledge of human nature, and of the utilities of public and private life, less various and profound than was requisite to accomplish those effects of confounding or persuading, which JUNIUS's Letters were to produce. Cicero, in the conceit of oratorical splendor, in a fondness for illustrations from the fashionable philosophy, and in dear effusions of egotism, often forgets the proper object of persuasion which he ought to have held steadily and keenly in view. Rousseau is, at times, feebly tedious in digression, illustration, and egotism. William Allen's famous pamphlet of *Killing no Murther*, has pointed and energetic passages, but possesses no enviable merits, as a whole. Burke is digressive, pompous in illustration, ever apt to forget the uses for the shew of ELOQUENCE. He provokes, instead of overpowering and soothing the prejudices which oppose his success. He seems ever a stranger to that

pertinency and propriety of ELOQUENCE which accomodate themselves to time, place, ignorance, and humour,—effecting more by this accommodation, than by figure or argument.

Yes; JUNIUS is, of all orators ancient or modern, he who keeps the most steadily in view the object of his ELOQUENCE. A few sacrifices he indeed makes to personal vanity, and to the pride of conscious ability and success. These are not many: and, deducting them, you shall leave nothing which is not addressed almost with the consummate skill of a divinity, to effect that purpose of persuasion for which it is employed. In his first Letter, he wished to alarm administration,—to assume the character of a presiding demon, in regard to the discontents of the people and the malice of faction,—to shew, at once, that depth of understanding, and that energetic vehemence of passion, which were requisite to make even persons of a character of intellect superior to that of the multitude, gladly rank themselves behind him, as their leader. Such were, obviously, his purposes. Is there a line in his Introductory Letter which does not tend, in the strongest and most direct manner, to consummate them? In the Letters between JUNIUS and Sir William Draper, is strikingly exemplified the difference between the ELOQUENCE of a man of business and a mere rhetorician. Even when writing in his own defence, Draper continually wanders aside in search of figures and elegancies, which, when found, only mar his purpose. JUNIUS uses no metaphors, except such as enter essentially and directly into the accomplishment of his design: he employs no figures, but such as perfectly amalgamate with his arguments. Whenever the shew of ornament and the burst of passion have not a tendency to enforce conviction, he haughtily disdains them, and writes with the very plainness of a merchant's ledger. In his invectives, he had in

view to confound and terrify the persons against whom they were employed,—to dignify, by repeating in the language of ELOQUENCE, the malicious jealousies, prejudices, and clamour of the vulgar,—and to assert the authority of a leader, by furnishing arguments and topics of complaint infinitely more powerful than any which the rest of his party could find for themselves. Not a line, not a sentiment occurs in them, which has not this tendency. Another might have been seduced, in the execution of particular parts, from a due attention to the main design; but JUNIUS never, for a moment, sacrifices his primary object to any matter of subordinate importance. Even when outrageous in abuse, to a degree that could not but offend the delicate and virtuous, he is not so, as being hurried away by his own feelings, but because the tone of the prejudices and feelings of the English multitude was not to be otherwise moved to his purpose. In the Letters on the dispute respecting the Middlesex Election, how admirably does he seize the strength of the argument on the side on which he contended,—and, neglecting the detail of less important matter, urge that alone, with irresistible force! His replies to the attempts of opponents to refute his arguments and destroy his credit, are in general his greatest master-pieces of design. The character, the interests, the ruling passions, the feebler reasonings, the inaccuracies in style, and the incongruities of metaphor, of his opponent, are all at once discerned, seized, and turned with consummate and irresistible energy, to overwhelm the poor being who had dared his wrath. He is never more truly admirable, than in his address in the controversy with Parson Horne. Silly and inconsiderate persons have alleged, that, of all the adversaries of JUNIUS, Horne approached the nearest to him in controversial art. But, the truth is, that JUNIUS, when he spared Horne, spared him for the sake of his adherents, and in order to prevent the threatened division

of the City patriots. His object was, to ruin Horne's political influence, without offending his friends. Horne, on the other hand, forgot all regard for the interests of his party, all prudent concern to advance the purposes towards which his previous labours had been so noisily employed, in bellowing pretences of disinterested patriotism, the very nature and circumstances of which gave the lie to what they asserted the most vehemently. Horne's letters co-operated with those of JUNIUS to destroy his own reputation. The Letters of JUNIUS contributed, in the most eminent manner, to protect Wilkes, on his vulnerable side, from Horne's attacks, and to prevent the party from being entirely dispersed by his mischievous rage. It is, in reality, in those parts of his letters to Horne, in which he has been thought the weakest, that JUNIUS has exercised the most consummate ability and address. Where Horne has appeared the ablest,—it was there precisely that he did to himself and his friends the greatest mischief. In the attack on Lord Mansfield, it may seem that undisguised virulence is suffered to burst forth injudiciously; and I should think, that, in one or two instances in it, prudence must have been lost in particular resentment. But, JUNIUS knew that the character of fearless boldness, in his invectives, was his best recommendation to authority with the mob. Lord Mansfield, too, was at that time exceedingly odious to all ranks of those who were in the same party with JUNIUS; because his abilities, his fair character, and his attachment to his Sovereign, were supposed to render him the most formidable of all the obstacles to the success of their political wishes; and he was, really, and perhaps not altogether unjustly, believed to be, as a lawyer and judge, too favourable to the influence of prerogative in the courts, and ready to advance its authority by introducing the maxims of the imperial law of Rome, into the interpretation of the laws of England. Hence, boldness to arraign him, talents pow,

erful to cover him with confusion, and pertinacious vehemence returning incessantly to the attack, and urging it with fury, were peculiarly adapted to produce against lord Mansfield, that strong effect which JUNIUS hoped from them. Lord Camden was expected, at the same time, to urge a similar attack in the House of Peers. But lord Camden, upon a full consideration of all the circumstances of the case, found it prudent to desist from the attempt: and JUNIUS, when he at last saw the grand party disappointed, and that party, in spite of all his efforts, entirely disorganised, thought it vain to continue his Letters farther. Never man wrote so skilfully to both the gross and the discerning part of readers at the same time. It is said of Shakespeare, that all the speeches in his Plays are so appropriated to their respective speakers, that no one of them could, without manifest absurdity, be transferred from its present possessor to another: and of JUNIUS, it may, in like manner, be affirmed, that every Letter, every position of invective in his writings, is directed with a propriety of address not susceptible of improving alteration, to the very person to whom it is inscribed. The knowledge of the proper strength of his own powers; an insight into the very heart of his adversary; a constant remembrance of his main design; and all the facilities of vigour, art, and skill, in the use of the engines of ELOQUENCE; strikingly appear to have been exercised by the author, in the composition of every one of the following Letters. One capital object of the remarks which, in this edition, accompany the Letters, is to illustrate this truth, in particular detail. In *this* place, a more minute selection of instances shall not be introduced.

3. The knowledge of the Author of these Letters, admits of advantageous comparison with that of other orators and controversial writers, ancient and modern.

The proper study of mankind, is man. The intimate knowledge of the genera, species, and varieties of human character, in all the powers of thought, native emotions and passions, biasses of affection, turns of humour, casts of imagination, and modes of exterior expression, which constitute their essential principles, and their several distinctions, is, of all human science, the most important part. Within this, lies the chief portion of that common sense which is demanded as the primary qualification for all the business of life. No orator, no statesman, no author, ever attained to great influence in society, otherwise than according to the exact proportion in which he possessed and exercised this knowledge. Without it, JUNIUS could not have displayed such admirable force and propriety in the management of his *design*. His Letters abound with those deep and general, yet original, observations on human character, and on the fortunes of human life, which can be produced only by genius and judgment matured by experience, and fully informed by much and various converse both with books and with mankind. His observations have the sententiousness, the profundity, and even a cast of the malignity of those of Tacitus: they breathe somewhat of the solemn pensive wisdom of Johnson: and they mingle with these qualities, the lively and keenly sarcastic discrimination of Swift. But, they possess, besides, a *race* of originality. They are not borrowed from the stores of those writers, but add new riches to the common stock. JUNIUS thinks like Johnson, like Tacitus, like Swift: but he does not tamely echo their thoughts. He is another and a greater master in the school of artists, not a mere copyist. It is by this grand quality in a particular manner, that the true critic may easily distinguish between the writings of JUNIUS, and those of the puerile imitators of his ELOQUENCE, to whom, for lack of a known owner, his Letters have been sometimes hastily ascribed. Had he no other

power of ELOQUENCE; were his Letters destitute of all those anecdotes by which they are so interesting to malignant curiosity: did they not perpetuate the memory of one of the most important popular contentions that have not been carried to a destructive height; did they even not preserve the political manners of England for the time, with all the force of an historical painting adding the comic manner of the Dutch, to the epic grandeur of the Italian school: yet, *on account solely of the great original truths which these Letters contain, they would deserve to be studied, with unwearied diligence, by readers of every class, from the school-boy of the highest form, to the statesman and the philosopher.* Those striking truths are occasionally noticed, as they occur, in the following Notes and Prefatory Observations. They will meet the attention of the discerning reader in a thousand instances in which it has not been thought necessary to point them particularly out.

The knowledge of such general truths, can be the result only of an extensive, minute, and accurate knowledge in detail, of the characters, manners, fortunes, interests, and changing humours of a great variety of individuals. That JUNIUS certainly possessed this knowledge—has been stated, in speaking of the propriety and judgment with which he makes every thing co-operate in every Letter, towards the chief *design*. Examine his account of any one character that is the subject of his praise or invective! He may,—indeed, he does often, maliciously depart from the truth; but he departs with a verisimilitude, and with a skill in flattery or caricature, which more strikingly evince his knowledge of the turns of character and passion, than if he had rigorously adhered to the truth. In the contest with Sir William Draper, how he probes the soul! With what art, he tortures a man of no mean talents, to confession! He was

thought to have dealt with outrageous severity towards the Duke of Bedford: And never was there a more masterly stroke in ELOQUENCE, than that with which he contrives to disarm the public resentment, and to deprive the Duke of that sympathy which seemed to have been raised in his favour,—by representing him as utterly *unfeeling, and a stranger to that distress which public compassion supposed* him to have suffered from the invectives of JUNIUS. He knew, that the king from the very commencement of his reign, had taken no measures in government but what he thought likely to promote the content and welfare of his people,—and desired nothing so much as their happiness and their love. It was believed, that such a sovereign would instantly abandon whatever measures he should know to be odious to his people. JUNIUS therefore strove both to make the people in truth suspicious of their monarch's virtues; and to persuade the monarch, that the people hated his government, and that its unpopularity would increase, unless he should employ those men, and adopt those measures of government for which this writer and his friends contended. If we consider, on what side JUNIUS strove to move the mind of his sovereign, and at the same time the humours of the people; we shall find that he had admirably discerned all the rectitude of disposition and intelligence in the mind of the former, and had skilfully marked all the caprices of the latter. Enter into the consideration of his knowledge of personal character in every similar instance, throughout his Letters,—you shall find it still equally extensive, minute, and correct.

In *physical science* he appears to have had considerable information. He induces from it some of his happiest and most impressive allusions. He introduces them with an ease and propriety which evince him to have clearly and powerfully apprehended the principles of the sciences to

which they belong. Of that *chemistry* which was known at the time when he wrote, he was considerably a master. He was not ignorant of the principles and the forms of demonstration belonging to *mathematics*. Of that which is, by way of eminence, called *natural philosophy*, he seems to have had, also, a competent knowledge. He does not appear to have been much conversant with *rural nature*. There occur, in his Letters, none of those delicate and original paintings of rustic imagery which, if he had been familiarly acquainted with it, an imagination and a tone of mind like his, must, unavoidably have poured forth. He had studied *nature* much rather in the arrangements of science than in the groupings in which she herself disposes her own creations.

In what has been said of his knowledge of human character, is necessarily implied, that he was a master in the different branches of that which is called *moral science*. In *logic*, who ever displayed more consummate skill. His reasonings assume at times an exact syllogistic form: they are never in that careless diffusion which betrays an ignorance of logical art. They are generally in those abbreviated syllogisms which mathematicians and lawyers delight to employ, and which arise so naturally in conversation, wherever untutored reason exerts itself vigorously without a knowledge of artificial rules. His logic was evidently not learned in the Scottish school, which, extending too far the principles of Bacon, would, in every instance, reject the powerful, luminous, and compressive methods of synthesis, for the feeble details of analysis and subsequent induction. Nay, to such a degree was he a master in the use of logic, that almost every one of his Letters may be reduced, in abstract, to a syllogism. It is evident, too, that he conceived them in this manner, in his first design; and in the composition of each Letter, only un-

folded and illustrated the several parts of the syllogism which embraced the whole.

In *rhetoric* as in logic, he appears to have had uncommon skill. His figures are managed with that art which only a skilful rhetorician can exercise. His compositions have that sort of argument which the rules of the rhetoricians prescribe. If he display more of the native force of genius than of cold rhetorical labour; yet the energies of native sentiment are in him, almost always regulated as they would have been, by the most consummate skill in artificial method. In the structure of his style, you see at once the logician careful of the order of propositions, and the rhetorician studious of propriety of tropes, of the fit structure of the sentences, of luminous illustration, of a happy arrangement of all the parts of each separate piece.

His acquaintance with the classical writers of *Greece* and *Rome*, is sufficiently evinced by the character of his composition, resembling the force and compression of Demosthenes, of Thucydides, of Sallust, and of Tacitus. It is proved by the splendor of his metaphors, worthy of Virgil, Pindar, and Homer. It is plain, also, from his quotations and allusions expressly indicating, that he had certain passages of Tacitus and others, within his recollection, at different times, while he wrote. It is easy to perceive, that he had added to the study of the ancient classics, that, also, of the best French writers. *Montesquieu*, whose style and manner of composition had been for about five and twenty years before JUNIUS wrote, highly popular in England,—had undoubtedly been, in a very particular manner, the subject of his study. And, it is evident, that he was no stranger to the wit of Voltaire, nor always averse from imitating it. Of *English* writers, I should conceive him to have been conversant chiefly with Locke, Chillingworth, Bolingbroke,

Robertson, Johnson, and with some of the pieces of Shebbeare. He was perhaps familiarly acquainted with some of the most nervous writings which were produced, in the seventeenth century, during the great rebellion. He was, evidently well read in the poetry of Butler, Milton, and Pope. Undoubtedly, he was much conversant with books of law, and with the simple precise writings belonging to actual business. His manner is one that could be formed only amid habits of business-writing. Plainness, simplicity, unaffected conciseness, are the ground colours of his painting. Bold metaphors, elaborate construction of periods, fiery interrogation, the *ardentia verba* of invective, are but superinduced to distinguish the group of figures, and compose the superficial ornaments.

Whence had he that readiness of disrespectful allusion to the Bible, and the ceremonies of religion, which is so often displayed in these Letters? Perhaps from familiar acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, the Book of Common Prayer, and the ordinary services of the church: More probably, from the imitation of Voltaire, Pope, and other wits, whose attempts to make the ceremonies of religion, subjects of profane merriment, were, thirty years since, too much admired by persons who should have had piety and taste to disdain and check the abuse. Or shall I venture to conjecture, that Chillingworth and Pascal were much studied by him, even while he was engaged in the composition of these Letters; and, that like every other writer, he insensibly transferred into his own works, some striking allusions from the books which he read? His allusions to religion, so far as they are contemptuous, relate chiefly to the absurdities of the Roman Catholic religion; a fact from which we may fairly infer, either that the course of his education and the incidents of his life, led him into a particular acquaintance with these, and an indignant dis-

gust against them, or else that he, in this instance, merely echoed the voices of Pascal and Chillingworth.

His manner is *epigrammatic*. What does this bespeak, in regard to the tenor of his studies? From Demosthenes, from Tacitus, from Dr. South, from Montesquieu, from Voltaire, from Johnson, he might catch this tendency to condense argument into epigrammatic point. He might catch it, too, from the satirists of Rome and England. This energy in the comparison and contrast of words and thoughts, is at all times admired. It is impossible to reason with extraordinary closeness and animation, without going more or less into it. Admired where it spontaneously arises in the reasoning eloquence of great writers; it is affectedly imitated, with a view to decoration alone, by men of inferior talents. It becomes the prominent vice in the affected writing of ages of ambitious yet ignorant refinements. Even where taste has not yet so much degenerated, the epigrammatic way is apt to be excessively studied. It seems to bespeak vigour and activity of conception; and it is naturally the vice either of strong, ardent genius, or of minds weakly affecting that power. It marks the writings of some of the greatest ancient and modern authors: and in the study of them, a tendency of mind to their pointed composition, may be even unconsciously formed. This pointed epigrammatic composition is so distinguished—because it contains an excessive abundance of those comparisons of ideas, difficult to be found, yet strikingly apposite, which constitute what is strictly called wit. But, the bringing of ideas together in this species of comparison, is to be effected only by the most vigorous efforts of abstraction and reasoning. It is indeed possible, that wit may exist without strength of judgment, this is, that a mind may so delight in separate individual comparisons, that it shall by habit lose the power of duly comprehending extensive successions of such compa-

risons. But, every particular effort of true wit, is undeniably an exertion of extraordinary energy of reasoning. Every mind that reasons strongly and rapidly, unavoidably makes in the ardour of reasoning, many of those comparisons which form wit. The delight which is given by true wit, is the same with that which sudden discovery and invention give to the man of science. The comparisons in mathematics where mathematical reasoning is exceedingly abbreviated, are, in all but continuous succession and their want of imagery and sentiment, of the same nature, with the wit of an orator or a poet. That excess of epigrammatic energy, then, which fills these Letters of JUNIUS is, in truth, not so much the effect of servile imitation or false taste, as a natural result of the energy with which he thought, of the ardent force with which he reasoned, of that vigorous combination of imagery and sentiment with reasoning, which was never better exemplified in any other writings than in his. His mind, feeling how much meaning was compressed into each epigrammatic comparison, might acquire a bias beyond what taste can approve, to the frequent use of such modes of thought and expression. This disposition would be favoured by the turn of composition in those nervous energetic writers whose books he chiefly studied. But, it was not so much imitation as the power of nature, which gave this feature to his works. Merely imitative writers are ever feeble.

His knowledge of the constitutional law was great and accurate. But the consideration of this knowledge in detail is reserved to be the subject of a separate Essay.

But, knowledge considered separately from the ACTIVE ENERGIES of genius which are in habitual exertion, will never account sufficiently for the production of such a work as these Letters. What were, then, the habits and personal character of this JUNIUS?—

It is sufficiently clear, that his UNDERSTANDING was naturally, and by the whole train of culture which it had received, a vigorous one. It must have been in habits of incessant activity: never languishing in a feeble, careless diffusion of its *conceptions*; never satisfying itself with half-discernment, nor with obscure knowledge; ever searching for the strongest relations of contrariety or resemblance in the ideas it compared; chastening constantly the train of thought that passed through it, so as not to suffer remote and feeble associations to supplant, in that train, associations close, strong, and direct. The first principles embodied into its very texture, were those rather of jurisprudence and logic than of metaphysics. Its reasonings were habitually, in the cast of those of the lawyer and the polemical logician. It was, however, evidently more accustomed to detect the sophisms of others, than to adhere inflexibly to attain truth for itself. It cannot have been, at any time, left to slumber in idleness. But, we should suppose it to have been rather one of those intellects which are occasionally, and but occasionally roused to gigantic efforts—than of those which never languish, but are never roused to extraordinary exertion.

His *fancy*,—that energy of the mind which is employed, not in deducing truth, but in picturing impressive possibilities,—appears to have been very powerful. Reading and the observation of life, though not of exterior nature, supplied it with abundant materials. It was often roused to activity by glowing passion. It was often employed in embodying the abstractions of reason and of science. It burns in all the higher efforts of his Eloquence. Its very presence seems entirely lost whenever the plain closeness of ratiocination, or the simplicity of the style of business, are alone required for the writer's purpose. Never was fancy so vigorous, more perfectly under the controul of propriety

and reason. It is that sort of *fancy* which has its origin from vigour of understanding, and instead of impairing that vigour, serves but to animate and strengthen it. Its efforts in these Letters must have been the result of long previous habit. They cannot have been the first attempts of an untried energy.

It is easy to perceive, that the writer of these Letters, was a man of strong glowing *passions*. That his passions were not wildly frantic or irregularly capricious, is sufficiently evident. They never lost sight of reason and utility. But, they must have been high, impetuous, and while they yielded in part, to the constraint of reason, must also have had power to make his reason become, to a certain degree, subservient to their rage. The objects of these passions, seem, however, to have been truth, power, liberty, the triumph of genius, and the humiliation of those who were hated for rival interests or dishonest intentions. The mind of the writer must have been nurtured to this cast and tone of passion. He could not have thus displayed them, if they had not been habitually predominant in his breast from early youth to the prime of manhood. His greatest weaknesses of passion are a wild intemperance of rage which sometimes carries the stroke beyond its own aim,—and a literary vanity which sometimes exults beyond measure in the success of his eloquence.

There is nothing in these Letters, from which we can infer their author to have been in his moral habits, either very bad or uncommonly good. That his moral feelings were eagerly alive, sufficiently appears. But, it is not improbable, that their exercise might be directed much rather upon the conduct of others, than on his own,

These passions, these moral sentiments, such a fancy, and so vigorous an understanding, with all the stores of knowledge with which they were furnished, bespeak a character in the prime of mature manhood, practically acquainted with active and contemplative life, conversant more probably in *juridical*, but certainly *political* business, full of ambition, and certainly not writing these Letters merely for political amusement, nor concealing that he was the author, upon any other reason, than the inevitable ruin of his hopes and fortunes, if he were as such publicly known.

It is from the tenor of the following Letters, that these facts concerning the oratorical and personal character of their author, are inferred. Let his character as an orator,—let the qualities of the eloquence in these Letters,—be compared with whatever in the same way, either ancient or modern eloquence can produce; the result of the comparison will, certainly, not be disadvantageous to JUNIUS. In knowledge of the principles and modifications of human character, in skill to sway the passions of the multitude, in extent and accuracy of general science, in ardent oratorical intrepidity, and in the habitual exercise of shrewdness and prudence, DEMOSTHENES was not his superior. Of the technical knowledge of the rhetorician, of the dialectics and ethics of the schools of that age, CICERO possessed, undeniably, a larger portion than can be with truth ascribed to JUNIUS. But, in fearless, manly energy of soul, in independent decision of mind, in invigorating and commanding self-confidence, in the power of bringing knowledge by the nearest way to the uses of business, we must not venture to compare the Roman orator with the English.—It is true, that, in his famous Letter to D'Alembert on the influence of Theatrical Exhibitions upon Public Morality,—in his answer to those who attempted the refutation of his para-

doxical opinions concerning the Relation of Science to the Happiness of Human Life,—in his epistle of Self-Defence, to Beaumont Archbishop of Paris,—ROUSSEAU has, no doubt, exercised some of the best powers of the true orator. But, his eloquence continually wanted that foundation in the principles of common sense, and that application to the real affairs of men, without which eloquence is but the amusement of romantic ingenuity. His knowledge was less than that of the Author of these Letters.—In generous self-confidence, and in effusions of animated sentiment, the great earl of CHATHAM was certainly not unequal to JUNIUS. But, he wanted the extensive and profound knowledge of the author of these Letters: and he had even less skill to unite the arts of insinuation with those of overbearing confidence and energy. CHATHAM does not appear to have usually reasoned well in his speeches. Much of his eloquence was in his elocution,—much of it in his intrepidity and disinterestedness, oratorical and political.—The Letters of JUNIUS have been even attributed to the late Mr. BURKE. But, BURKE, though he had of the forms and exterior apparatus of knowledge perhaps much more than JUNIUS, had of its soul, its quintessence, its elementary principles greatly less. In sound and manly sense, and in oratorical discretion, he was greatly inferior. His knowledge and learning continually *o'erinform* his eloquence, so as, not seldom to weaken its effects. He had not at all that insight into human character which so conspicuously appears in the Letters of JUNIUS. He knew not to sacrifice the ostentation of eloquence to persuasive effect. He used still to affect the rhetorician and the man of letters, when he should have thought only of doing business in the shortest and most decisive way. No: he was not at all equal to the composition of these Letters. His Eloquence had ever in it much of the diffusion of Cicero's, and the romance of Rousseau's: but Rousseau was often more logical than

Burke.—There is great resemblance between the oratorical efforts of the late MIRABEAU, and those of JUNIUS. MIRABEAU has indeed more than JUNIUS of what seems an unseasonable use of metaphysics. Yet, there was perhaps good sense in the use of metaphysics to persuade those to whom Mirabeau had to address himself. In similar circumstances JUNIUS might possibly have done as much. DAVID WILLIAMS does not indeed possess that deep and various knowledge which is displayed in these Letters. In discarding from his mind, the prejudices of precedent and old vulgar opinion, he has certainly gone too far towards adopting the prejudices of innovation in the different subjects of scientific inquiry. Yet, from his writings, may be gleaned passages approaching more nearly than any to be found in the writings of other English writers, to the general energy of thought, the fire of sentiment, the shrewd discrimination, and the closeness of reasoning, which distinguish JUNIUS. WILLIAMS, too, unites energy with natural simplicity of style, more successfully than has been done by JUNIUS in the most elaborately eloquent parts of his Letters. There are in the *Letters of an Old Statesman to a Young Prince*, which I suppose the work of WILLIAMS, a few occasional paragraphs which no writer ancient or modern has ever excelled. His Commentary on Montesquieu, is however a very shallow performance.—There are in the writings of the late Dr. GILBERT STUART, and in those of his imitator GODWIN, occasional touches of an Eloquence simpler in style, yet scarce less energetic than that of JUNIUS. But, neither STUART nor GODWIN shews any thing of that deep knowledge of human character, or that skill in affairs, of which the writer of the Letters of JUNIUS was indisputably possessed.—The famous Letter of CHARLES FOX to the Electors of Westminster, has much of the business-like plainness and the cogent reasoning of JUNIUS. It wears somewhat more than JUNIUS's Letters

of a sly air of artlessness. But, it does not, with the energy and skill of JUNIUS, involve the bold language of metaphor and sentiment in the tenor of argument. It is a different sort of Eloquence, the effusion of a scarcely inferior mind, nearly but not altogether equal to the power of the following Letters. But, I should suppose the Author of the Letters of JUNIUS to have been master of much more of political *shrewdness* and *discretion*, than CHARLES FOX has shewn.

In the whole, excuse malignity, vanity, an occasional excess of epigrammatic turns, a structure of sentences sometimes laboured to harshness and almost to obscurity, with a few incongruities of metaphor: and these Letters must be owned to be, in all other respects, probably the most vigorous and faultless specimen of human Eloquence, that the world has yet seen.



ON THE PRINCIPLES
OF
THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION,
AS THEY WERE UNDERSTOOD
BY THE
AUTHOR OF THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS.

EVERY Political Society has, in its whole, a SUPREME power, legislative and executive; which, by opinion, by law, by actual exercise, is, in different states, differently modified.

The modification of this Supreme Power, peculiar to every different State, is called its CONSTITUTION.

All Political Constitutions of any acknowledged excellence or stability, appear from the general history of mankind, to have originated,—not in sudden institution,—but, like the improved arts of life, out of the practical necessities of society, compelling from time to time, one easy change after another, till they are sufficiently provided for.

The origin of the British Constitution may be traced backwark to the first rude associations of the Ancient Britons, Anglo-Saxons, and Scots. The *people* enjoyed

among those, the greatest liberty political and civil. The *Chiefs* had at first, little extraordinary power, save what they might exercise in the hour of battle, and in other times of extreme danger. The *slaves*, purchased, conquered in war, or born in servitude, were numerous, and enjoyed no political rights. This was, throughout Britain, the state of political society about the time of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of England.

For two or three centuries immediately subsequent, no striking change ensued. Only, the continuation of the existence of the different governments produced an increase of authority in the hands of the prince, and of those who co-operated with him in the ordinary exercise of the government and judicial functions. The increase of the slaves, too, and their succession in families, began, gradually to establish some customs in their favour. When the principalities of the *Heptarchy* began in England to be enlarged and united; the legislative authority which had before resided properly in the *Mickleghemote* or *General Assembly* of the freemen, began to be commonly exercised by the *Witenagemote*, a selection of the more eminent freemen.

When all England was united in one dominion under Egbert; the power of the *crown* was considerably augmented. There arose, too, an *aristocracy* in the rulers of the conquered principalities, and the descendants of the degraded ducal families, by which the equality that had before subsisted among freemen was, to a considerable degree, destroyed. As grants of lands, and slaves upon them, were the only sort of rewards which could be conferred for the services of great officers; many estates were, even, at this æra in the history of the Anglo-Saxons, held under tenures, of a feudal nature.

In the progress of the Anglo-Saxon legislature and government to the accession of the Norman line, the Constitution underwent some gradual alterations. By the necessity of circumstances, and by imitation from the practices on the continent, the forms of feodism were still more and more introduced into the government, and the distribution of property in land, in England. The legislature was still composed of all the freemen who possessed property in land. Those who held offices in the government were the most assiduous attendants as members of the legislature. It was partly as a duty to the community, and in part as a servitude to the King, that the legislature was constituted, from time to time, by the attendance of its proper members. The King could demand from the freemen, his subjects, nothing but the fulfilment of the conditions of their tenures. The legislature could exact from them, only what was necessary to the defence of the state, and the salutary order of society. Alfred was not, any more than Justinian of the Code, Pandects, and Institute, —the *author*, but simply the *compiler*, of those constitutional laws which have been ignorantly ascribed to him alone.

At length, the accession of the Norman line, and the circumstances of rebellion, conquest, and oppression, with which it was accompanied, brought in a feodism more formal, and which had more perfectly assumed the character of legal and fixed political institution, than that of more careless and inartificial origin, which before prevailed in England. The feodism of the continent had acquired its peculiar contexture by a gradual association of the customs of power and property among its barbarous invaders with that distribution of power, honours, and emoluments, by which the military fabric of the Roman empire was, in the late period of its existence, defended against them.

But, even this feodism was to those whom it owned as freemen, a system of liberty rising almost to licentiousness. Its essence was—to consider the sovereign as, primarily, the lord of the whole territory of his kingdom,—to regard his free subjects, as, all, either mediately or immediately his tenants,—to make those who were immediately his tenants, or held from the crown *in capite*, subject to pay no obedience, to perform no services, to the monarch, save such as were stipulated in the charters by which they held their lands from him,—to hold the freemen who were only sub-tenants, as bound only to preserve the King's peace, and to discharge to their immediate lords, the definite services under which their lands were held,—to render the monarch in all but stipulated payments or services, entirely dependent on the good pleasure of his vassals,—to leave the tenant or vassal free to renounce his fee, fief, or estates, and with it, his allegiance,—to subject to the forfeiture of that fief, the vassal who failed in the discharge of the duties stipulated to his liege lord, in his charter.

Hence resulted the Constitution of the PARLIAMENT, under the perfect existence of feodism, somewhat different from that of either the Mickleghemote or the Wittenagemote under the government of the Anglo-Saxons. So far as the services of the King's vassals stipulated by charter, or of his *slaves* or *villains* not enjoying chartered rights, could answer all the exigencies of his subsistence and government; he was free to live and rule, without the assistance of Parliaments. When he needed from subjects—what their charters obliged them not to give; he could obtain it not otherwise than by their consent in Parliament. It was an universal condition of the feudal tenures, that the vassals should be obliged to attend their lord's or sovereign's courts, *that is*, to meet, at his summons, in parliamentary

assembly. The parliament was, therefore, composed of all the King's vassals holding by written charter, under whatever species of tenure. It may seem to have been, in the early reigns of the Norman line, composed almost exclusively of military vassals: for, almost all the lands in the kingdom were then held under military tenure. But, it is, nevertheless, certain, that those holding by any species of tenure, provided it were but written, could be legally subjected to no imposition, save such as they themselves in a parliamentary way, consented to bear.

But, as the vassals of the crown held by different tenures, the demands of the monarch were of course to be proposed to each class of tenants separately. Were military services wanted? The vassals under military tenures were to be assembled and asked for them. Was it money or provisions that the sovereign needed? It became necessary for him to ask these from vassals to whose tenures it peculiarly belonged to supply them. Hence the distinction of the parliament into two houses. It was summoned only to supply the wants of the crown. The military vassals were to be asked only for military services; and they were, therefore, to consult by themselves. The vassals holding under burgage and soccage tenure were to be asked, rather for money, provisions, &c., and it was obviously natural, that they should consult alone, whether they would grant their Sovereign's demands.

One of the chief duties of the Sovereign to his subjects, consisted in vigilance to protect them mutually from the violences of one another. This was to be accomplished by the preservation of the common peace, and by the distribution of justice civil and criminal, according to the terms of the different charters, the rules of natural justice, the

common practice of the country, and any particular concessions that might have been made by the Sovereign to his subjects. The existence of the crime, and the injury resulting from it, were to be ascertained by the testimony of the neighbours and fellow-subjects of the criminal. Hence the origin of Assizes. The constitution of the assize of the whole freemen of the district, was often apt to incommode, rather than promote the distribution of justice. A number was to be chosen out of the assize. In a reference to the number of the twelve apostles—*twelve* was fixed at an æra much earlier than that of William the first.

Beside the Sovereign, his vassals, their vassals, and those who were in the condition of servitude; there was, also, in the kingdom, a great body of people; THE CLERGY, who held lands, and received services of various sorts, on the sole condition of celebrating the offices of religion, and administering its instructions and consolations, according to the use of the church. Having originally acted as the missionaries of the Roman Pontiff, they remained still subject, in the last resort, to his authority solely. A few of them possessing baronies under the condition of military service, were *bound to attend in* PARLIAMENT: the rest, not enjoying estates under such tenures, were honourably exempted from the corresponding feudal duties. This independence of the clergy, rendered them a middle body between the King and his vassals; and enabled them to act often the part of protectors to the *serfs*, when these were oppressed by the freemen their lords. They had a separate, national and legislative court, in which they enacted under the authority of the Pope and the King, laws for their own government, and granted at times, pecuniary supplies to their prince. The common superstition of the age, their superior knowledge, and their

great wealth, gave them likewise high indirect authority in the government of the states.

The Laws, considered separately from those by whom they were enacted and executed, began to acquire still more and more of a sacred mysterious authority over the conduct of all ranks of persons in the kingdom. They consisted of—general and local customs of inheritance, servitude, and decision—the conditions of tenure expressed in charters,—those principles of fealty and dominion which served as a common basis for all these charters,—the statutes varying and explaining the principles of feodism which were jointly enacted by the estates in parliament—with the canon law, and even the civil law, so far as these were legally followed in the decisions in those courts in which the clergy presided.

A mode such as this, of the political union of men in society, could not long exist, unchanged. It did not draw the bonds of society sufficiently close. Its fabric stood on a foundation liable to frequent convulsive shocks. It gave a licentious freedom to those who were free. The slaves it subjected to overbearing and despotic oppression. In the centuries which followed till the æra of the grand rebellion, forfeitures made the crown at different times proprietor of almost all the lands in the kingdom; fiefs became permanently hereditary in the families of those to whom they had been granted; precedents, statutes, the collected opinions of judges, more diligent research into ancient customs, established a body of law which controuled the former caprices of judicial decision to the advantage equally of the crown and of the subjects; concessions wrested or bought from the Sovereign, and the gradual rise of the *serfs* to a condition in which they could shake off the yoke of their

masters, raised that order which was chiefly employed in peaceful industry to an importance in the state, and an enjoyment of freedom hitherto unknown to them; the military vassals and sub-vassals of the crown, beginning to lose their military habits, while the crown learned to retain mercenaries, became hence less able than they had formerly been, to resist the authority of their prince; the diffusion of knowledge weakened that power which the clergy had derived from the exclusive possession of it; the interests of the military vassals were fully incorporated with those of the vassals holding by soccage tenures; the crown was, by various grants, irrecoverably impoverished; new ideas of the distribution of power were generally propagated; a contest between *impotent authority* and substantial power, broke forth; all those mischiefs ensued to which the *state of nature* without customs, habitual opinions, existing laws, and partialities of social affection, is liable; these kingdoms were shaken and ravaged by the tempest; when it ceased, those prejudices, affections, customs, and institutions which had been desperately violated, recovered as far as was possible their ancient power.

The relations between the different parts of the Constitution and Government, could not be duly adjusted in the establishment at the restoration. Popery still proffered her aid for the restitution of absolute monarchy; if she might at the same time, regain the authority of the religion of the state. The monarch wished to set himself free from pecuniary dependence on his parliament. The people were not yet satisfied that they had done well in not totally abolishing that kingly dominion which they had once proceeded to violate. A tumultuous contention prevailed; not such as actually to break out into civil war, but maintaining a disorder not more convenient for civil tranquillity than that

which had, three or four centuries before, been excited in the first unsettled condition of feodism.

The revolution was necessary to perfect the establishment of the restoration. Could it have accomplished that without any new evils peculiar to itself; no farther political convulsion would, for ages, have followed. But it was impossible to effect such a change, without offering violence to many distinguished interests. Hence all the ills of jacobitism, and of a temporary uncertainty in the title to the throne.

Under the HOUSE OF HANOVER, the aristocracy were at length established in the chief possession of the powers of the government, yet in a due reconciliation of their interests, to those equally of the people and the crown, LAW continually gathering new force, strengthened beyond calculation, the general stability of the Constitution. POPERY was continually weakened by the increasing diffusion of knowledge, and by her alliance to unpopular politics. A compromise was made with the pretensions of PURITANISM, which served for a time, to appease their discontent, and suppress their clamours. Amidst every change in administration, the ARISTOCRACY—including all the better part of the nation,—have with some variety of modifications, remained still masters of the state.—JUNIUS is in the following Letters, evidently not a friend to the idea of an IMPOSSIBLE DEMOCRACY—as he is an enemy to any thing like absolute exclusive DESPOTISM. He labours, throughout the Letters, to recommend a particular modification of aristocracy which would in the whole, have proved less beneficial than that which he opposed. The means, he employed, were in part, those of seditious democracy. But, he gave for the time, an highly salutary power to

public opinion. And even the government which he harassed was benefited by the energy of his resistance to some of the most dangerous errors of a short-sighted political selfishness.

The other illustrations which might have been introduced under this head, will be found in the Notes.

WHO WAS THE REAL AUTHOR OF THESE LETTERS?

THE fate of the name of JUNIUS has been remarkable. He who first made it illustrious in ancient times, was the deliverer of Rome from a race of tyrants. And it has been chosen, as the favourite appellation of modern writers lifting up the boldest voice against what was abhorred as tyranny.

In the year 1581, was published at Paris, a work entitled *Stephani JUNII Bruti, Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. In the assumption of the name of *Stephen*, the writer was understood to compare himself to the saint so called, the first martyr of the Christian church. He added the appellation of JUNIUS *Brutus*, in comparison of his own undertaking with that of the First Consul of Rome.

This work treats of the obedience due to Kings,—the just grounds of resistance to their authority,—the manner in which injured subjects ought to act in the organization of that resistance,—the legality of calling in foreign aid against a tyrant,—and the obligation on neighbouring nations to assist a people groaning under the yoke of oppression, to burst its fetters. It was written during those civil wars in France, which partly the efforts of the reformation

against popery, in part the treacherous tyranny of Catherine di Medici and her children, had excited.

The Author's real name was, for a while, studiously concealed. The curiosity of the learned throughout Europe strove impatiently to discover it. The book was given out to have been first printed at Edinburgh, in the year 1579. It was ascribed to Theodore Beza, to Parsons the Jesuit, to the famous Mornai du Plessis; and to that great lawyer, Francis Hottoman. At last, however, it was satisfactorily declared by a M. D'Aubigné, to have been composed by the learned and eloquent HUBERT LANGUET the correspondent of Sir Philip Sidney,—and by him confided to Mornai du Plessis, who made it public through the press. Even the account of D'Aubigné, though generally believed in the learned world, has been called in question by Bayle, that ingenious marshaller of opposite probabilities. And it remains in some sort, uncertain—who was the JUNIUS, the author of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*? as well as—who was the JUNIUS, the writer of the following Letters?

CRELLIUS, the famous Socinian of Poland, also, published in the year 1637, a work under the title of *Vindiciæ pro Religionis Libertate*, in which he assumed JUNIUS BRUTUS, as the signature of the author.

If I do not exceedingly mistake; the writer of the following Letters, had one or both of these examples in view when he took up the appellation of JUNIUS. It seems, at least, much more probable, that he knew the work of *Languet*, and followed that bold and energetic writer's example, than that without a knowledge of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, he adopted his feigned appellation at once from the early history of ancient Rome. This is confirmed by the

consideration, that, in a note on one of the Letters of Sir William Draper, the English JUNIUS seems, with his antagonist, to confound *Marcus* with *Junius* BRUTUS—an oversight of which he could hardly have been guilty, if he had assumed the signature of JUNIUS directly from the comparison of his own efforts with those of the First Roman Consul.

Every attempt to detect the Author of these Letters has hitherto failed.

It was not BURKE?—The style, the favourite phraseology, the methods of reasoning, several of the principles, the topics and images of illustration, in the Letters of JUNIUS,—are as entirely different from those in the works of Burke,—as it is possible for the effusions of one great mind to be from those of another, on the same class of subjects.

They are not the productions of HUGH BOYD?—No youth of *one* or *two* and *twenty* could have that knowledge of experience, that energetic moral sagacity, that shrewdness in the application of the means of eloquence to its end, which these Letters display. *Boyd's* works have been published; and if there be any thing, by internal evidence, more conspicuous in them than another,—it is, that Boyd was the aping imitator of JUNIUS and of JOHNSON, with a mind of which the native energies, the discipline, and the acquired knowledge were utterly unequal to the efforts of his masters.

W. GERARD HAMILTON it could not be?—No. These Letters bespeak a mind too fervid to have ever sunk into that placid unambitious indolence in which this gentleman spent the latter years of his life. They are evidently the

results of a course of study and practice in business, different from that in which the earlier years of HAMILTON had been passed. Even Horace Walpole's praise of his *single speech* in the House of Commons, even the assertion that he delighted in the concise and the epigrammatic form of eloquence, are not sufficient to counterbalance those strong reasons which oppose the ascription of these Letters to him as their real author. His habits and sentiments did not permit him to become so violently the partizan of Wilkes, nor to dive so deep in the puddle of city-politics. He could have no interest to conceal at his death, that he was the writer of Letters so eloquent, so mighty in their effects, in their principles so truly constitutional. And, assuredly, the author of the Letters of JUNIUS had a mind superior to the CAPRICE of concealing his right to them, at a time when its notoriety could only exalt his fame, without hurting his interests. The power of classical allusion, the familiar acquaintance with the rites of the Romish religion, the admirable skill in the nicest points of constitutional law which appear in the following Letters, are qualities well known, not to have belonged even to the manly and accomplished mind of HAMILTON.

Was the clergyman ROSENHAGEN their author? If I be not misinformed; there are in truth some probabilities in his favour. The Honourable General MELVILLE, a distinguished judge in questions of taste, policy and erudition, has done me the honour, to relate to me, various facts from which it clearly appears that ROSENHAGEN was at least, in epistolary writing, one of the most successful imitators of the manner of JUNIUS. But he had not those powerful political *iræ, odia, and amicitie* under the impression of which JUNIUS certainly wrote. He was of foreign origin; and could not have those English feelings in matters of politics, which so forcibly speak in every line of

the following Letters. He wanted the means of deriving his idiomatic phraseology from law systems, and reports, as JUNIUS has principally done. He had at different periods in life, every reason rather to proclaim, than to conceal, that he was the author of these Letters, if he could have, with truth, assumed the merit of them.—We must not then, so lightly honour his memory with a praise so high.

I BELIEVE myself to have nearly discovered, who was certainly the author of these Letters. But, I have, without entirely satisfying myself, protracted my inquiries and renewed my doubts, till the necessity of publication calls upon me to interrupt them, with an imperiousness that is no longer to be resisted. I cannot now lay before the reader, all the detail of facts and circumstances on which my judgment is founded. The result I shall briefly state. The author of these Letters was no other than the celebrated DUNNING, afterwards Lord ASHBURTON. *He* alone had the motives for personal attack against Lord MANSFIELD and the Duke of GRAFTON, which certainly inflamed the mind of JUNIUS, in writing these Letters. *He* alone possessed that knowledge of the constitutional law of England which JUNIUS has so eminently displayed. The nervous, epigrammatic cast of his speeches and pleadings had no mean resemblance to the style and manner of JUNIUS. His style was formed, like that of JUNIUS, by taste, and genius operating upon the phraseology of law and business, as well as upon the sentiments and images of the classics. He had those connexions with the ministerial, the parliamentary, and the city-parties, with Wilkes, and with Horne, which the Letters imply. He possessed that fervid mind and that maturity of experience, from which alone such effusions could proceed. He had reasons to conceal to the last, that he was the author: for, if he had been known as such, when the Letters were written,—his hopes of professional prefer-

ment, or of any favours from the crown, must have been forever at an end. At the time of his death, he and his family had received from the crown, such emoluments and honours, that nothing could then impress his mind more strongly, than the necessity for his continuing to hide, that he had addressed his Sovereign, the Earl of Mansfield, and others of the first persons in these kingdoms, in a strain of such fierce invective. *He* alone had reasons of personal interest to resolve from the very first, that *his secret should die with him*, and to the last to adhere to that resolution.

Some persons have affirmed, that the author of these Letters *could not* be a lawyer! But, is that to be argued from errors or sophistry in law, which the ablest lawyer may of design or by incidental oversight, employ? It is but within these few days that Lord ELDON declared in the House of Peers, "*that the author of the LETTERS of JUNIUS, if not himself a lawyer, must certainly have written in concert with the ablest and best of lawyers.*"

I think it unnecessary particularly to notice what Mr. Chalmers, Mr. Malone, and Mr. Boyd have lately written concerning the author of the Letters of JUNIUS. Had they thought proper to inquire and to reason, instead of scolding and trifling feebly about this matter; *their labours* had deserved more respectful notice. But, it is clear, that a man may feel a blind fury of anti-jacobinism, may faithfully transcribe a manuscript to other eyes illegible, may have a passion for old books, may be alive to the partialities of friendship,—without having any skill to solve the nicer problems in literary or political history.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I HAVE employed my best endeavours to render this Edition of the LETTERS of JUNIUS, as useful and acceptable to the Public, as possible. I am aware of its imperfections. Yet, I hope that liberal criticism may, likewise, find in the following illustrations, somewhat to commend. I commit the whole, such as it is, to the candour of the Public.

R. HERON.

LONDON, OCTOBER 14 1801.

JUNIUS;
WITH
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

I.



DEDICATION

TO THE

ENGLISH NATION.

PREFATORY OBSERVATIONS.

The Author of these Letters, had the prudence or the good fortune to discontinue them, at a time when the name of JUNIUS still retained all its first popularity. He was proudly conscious of their excellence, and believed them to be destined to literary immortality. In the course of their first publication, some of them had been, without his permission, collected and republished. At the close of the whole, he prepared them to be reprinted in that form in which he seems to have wished them ever after to appear. This Dedication was then prefixed, to express the Author's gratitude for the enthusiastic applause with which his Letters had been honoured, to recal upon them the popular curiosity, to suggest forcibly to the minds of careless readers the principal topics of which the Letters treated, and to explain that his Book was not to be regarded so much in the light of a collection of fugitive personal satires, as in that of a system of the fundamental principles of British Liberty and Political Law, unfolded in a practical application of them, which was well adapted to confirm their truth, and to evince their importance.

He bespeaks the continued partiality of the Nation to his work, by representing it as the nurseling of their favour. He boasts, that it cannot but survive the importance of those temporary and personal matters to which it owes a part of its present celebrity. He describes the principles which it inculcates, as worthy to make the

People value it as a *patrimoine*, and transmit it to their posterity with the same care with which they would perpetuate the Constitution which it vindicates and explains. For the boastfulness of these assumptions, he apologizes, by observing, that the concealment of his person and real name, takes away from his vanity whatever might appear particularly weak, or might prove the most offensive. He maintains, that the necessity for hindering the creation of precedents fatal to Liberty, makes it the duty of the People to watch against even the slightest incroachments of the Executive Power, as if these were revolutions establishing, at once, the reign of Despotism. Alluding to the great question—concerning the power of the House of Commons to incapacitate any of their members, by a simple vote of expulsion, from being re-elected to serve in the parliament out of which he was expelled; JUNIUS here asserts, that the sovereignty is in the whole nation, not merely in its legislative representatives; urges, that this is, both directly, and by frequent implication, the genuine doctrine of the fundamental laws, and of the forms of the Constitution; and earnestly warns the People to make such conditions, as should leave this principle no longer in doubt or contest, with those whom they might choose to be their representatives at the next General Election. The Liberty of the Press, and the Right of Juries to return, in all cases, a general verdict, he with equal earnestness describes as of infinite consequence to the support of British Freedom. The discussions in which JUNIUS had engaged, and the judicial trials which his and other similar publications had produced, brought these two great points, in a very particular manner, under the immediate attention of the Public. An alarm which had not yet subsided, a contest not yet finally determined, had been excited in regard to them. JUNIUS was anxious to keep alive the alarm till the wishes of the people should finally prevail, and willing to claim respect for the exertions which he had himself made on account of this object. A General Election was the sole occasion, on which he supposed that the people might command the redress of every grievance. It was soon to return. JUNIUS makes it, therefore, in this Dedication, his leading purpose, to rouse all the patriotism of the people to an eager and resolute expectation of that event. He concludes with one of those flashes of haughty, indignant sentiment, in which one of his best powers as a writer eminently consists. Such is the purport

DEDICATION.

v

of this preliminary paper; evidently intended to sum up the Author's merits, to state what was his primary design, to make a last impression that should hinder those from being effaced which he had so successfully made before.

This piece does not appear to have been laboured with JUNIUS's happiest skill, nor with the most ardent and strained exertion of the energies of his mind. He seems to have sitten down to write it, while its particular design was but obscurely conceived, while his imagination was still in a sort of tumultuous ferment with the ideas which it contains. It was probably finished at one sitting, with labour of thought rather exerted successively upon each particular part, than expanded, in the progress of the composition, to incessant consideration of the scope which should give unity to the whole.

It is, however, a genuine composition of JUNIUS. The general cast of thought; the structure and the colours of the style, rather expressing the native character of the Author's genius, than bearing the marks of cold, artificial imitation; the combination of reasoning, with the gorgeous ornaments of fancy, and with those incessantly bursting fires of lofty and vehement sentiment, which are kindled in none but great minds; infallibly bespeak, in this Dedication, the spirit of JUNIUS; and would enable us easily to distinguish it as his, even if it did not appear in connexion with his Letters. When I mark it, as not the most powerfully written and elaborately finished of all his pieces; I mean not to deny, that it is well adapted to the use for which it was intended, and worthy of the admirable Letters to which it is prefixed.

I DEDICATE to you a collection of Letters, written by one of yourselves, for the common benefit of us all. They would never have grown to this size, without your continued encouragement and

applause. To me they originally owe nothing, but a healthy, sanguine constitution. Under *your* care they have thriven. To *you* they are indebted for what-

To me they originally owe nothing but a healthy, sanguine constitution, &c.] In the four periods, of which the second is here quoted, the Author introduces a metaphor, in which the resemblance of the metaphorical to the real objects, is not sufficiently complete for either ornament or illustration. He means to compare his Letters to a child, of which he represents himself as the parent,—the public, as the nurse. The figure is sufficiently clear and correct, when he describes this progeny, as owing to himself a vigorous constitution, and as having thriven under the care of the public. But, when he adds,—*To you, they are indebted for whatever strength or beauty they possess*;—resemblance is entirely lost; and the metaphor, instead of dignifying and illustrating, only obscures and perplexes: for, though a young person may owe strength and beauty in a considerable degree to the care of those who feed, watch over, and educate him, as he rises from infancy to full-grown youth; how could the Letters of JUNIUS, owe either *strength* or *beauty* to any but their Author? If this had been only one of the long-tailed similitudes of Homer, in which an unnecessary circumstance, not entering into the comparison, is added to make the imagery complete; it might have possessed indisputable propriety and correctness. But, throughout every part of the figure, a substitution of the metaphorical imagery for the natural meaning, is minutely and studiously attempted. When, therefore, in speaking of the *strength* and *beauty* of his literary progeny—qualities which the Author alone could bestow—JUNIUS represents these as proceeding from the public favour; he calls us to view resemblance, where we can discover only striking incongruity; and thus errs from the propriety of writing, in a manner which deserves to be marked, that it may not be imitated. But, it is an eminent part in the character of JUNIUS, as a writer, to be fond of those hazardous darings in figurative expression, which must prove either singularly happy, or else strikingly incorrect. Of incorrectness in metaphor, these Letters will be found to exhibit very few specimens, beside that which is here noted. Almost every succeeding page will present the most energetic strokes of eloquence, produced by that bold originality of figures, in which few other writers have ever been so conspicuously successful.

ever strength or beauty they possess. When Kings and Ministers are forgotten, when the force and direction of personal satire is no longer understood, and when measures are only felt in their remotest consequences, this book will, I believe, be found to contain principles worthy to be transmitted to posterity. When you leave the unimpaired hereditary freehold to your children, you do but half your duty. Both liberty and property are precarious, unless the possessors have sense and spirit enough

When Kings and Ministers are forgotten, &c.] This is a nervous, elegant, and well-constructed sentence. It is dignified by the prophetic boast of a mind conscious of having exerted mighty powers. It compresses, without mutilation or obscurity, much important meaning within a few short phrases. It employs the most expressive words, to convey every portion of its meaning. Its different members are compacted with an easy closeness, which greatly contributes to render the whole both more energetic, and more perspicuous.

Yet, even here, some smaller inaccuracies have eluded the notice of the writer. His meaning is, that,—“when *the* Kings and Ministers *of whom he writes*, shall be forgotten,—when *the* force of the personal satire *in his book*, shall be no longer understood,—when *the* measures *which he opposes or recommends*, shall be felt, only in their remotest consequences; then will the excellence of the principles taught in these Letters, render them still worthy of being transmitted to posterity.” But, his expressions apply to Kings and Ministers, to personal satire, to measures, in general, without the smallest limitation from Syntax, or any of the requisite formalities of Grammar. Such inaccuracy of language will often escape, amid the glow of composition, from a fervid mind, intent chiefly upon the higher excellencies, and therefore leaving something of minute propriety to be supplied by subsequent revisal that there may not be always leisure to bestow. These negligencies in the composition of this sentence, render it probable, that JUNIUS wrote this Dedication at once, and sent it to the press without transcription; perhaps without more than one very hasty perusal of his manuscript.

to defend them.—This is not the language of vanity. If I am a vain man, my gratification lies within a narrow circle. I am the sole depositary of my own secret, and it shall perish with me.

If an honest, and I may truly affirm, a laborious zeal for the public service, has given me any weight in your esteem, let me exhort and conjure you, never to suffer an invasion of your political constitution, however minute the instance may appear, to pass by, without a determined, persevering resistance. One precedent creates another.—They soon accumulate, and constitute law. What yesterday was fact, to day is doctrine. Examples are supposed to

Examples are supposed, &c.] This alludes to the labour with which precedents had been sought, to justify the conduct of the House of Commons in refusing to receive Mr. Wilkes, as representative for the county of Middlesex, in the same Parliament from which he had been expelled. No precedent exactly corresponding, in all its circumstances, to the case in question, could be found. Examples of more imperfect resemblance were, therefore, to be pressed into the service. It was alleged, that they who had refused to receive back among them, Mr. Walpole, expelled for corruption and breach of trust in a ministerial office, would also have denied re-admission to a man guilty of those acts of licentiousness and turpitude which had procured the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes. JUNIUS, and the other advocates on the popular side of the question, maintained, that the Law of Parliament could exist only in statute or precedent; that the House of Commons had not a jot of privilege for the protection of the dignity and order of their proceedings, but what was defined in that law; that, in its interpretation, no new necessity of circumstances, no plausible analogy, nothing but precise coincidence in all particulars, however minute, could be sufficient to justify the same procedure in a recent case which had taken place in a former one; that, if the precedent were solitary and manifestly illegal, even this coincidence would be insufficient to give legality to a repetition of it; and that the House of Commons, therefore, in refusing to receive Mr. Wilkes,

justify the most dangerous measures, and where they do not suit exactly, the defect is supplied by analogy. —Be assured that the laws, which protect us in our civil rights, grow out of the constitution, and they must fall or flourish with it. This is not the cause of faction, or of party, or of any individual, but the common interest of every man in Britain. Although the King should continue to support his present system of government, the period is not very distant at which you will have the means of redress in your own power. It may be nearer, perhaps, than any of us expect; and I would warn you to be prepared for it. The King may possibly be advised to dissolve the present parliament a year or two before it expires of course, and precipitate a new election, in hopes of taking the nation by surprise. If such a measure be in agitation, this very caution may defeat or prevent it.

I cannot doubt that you will unanimously assert the freedom of election, and vindicate your exclusive right to choose your representatives. But other questions have been started, on which your determination should be equally clear and unanimous. Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into

wantonly violated the constitutional rights of the freeholders of Middlesex, and indeed of the people of all England. This reasoning, however powerful, had not as yet proved fully successful. Yet, it composed, perhaps, the best of all the argumentative parts of the *Letters of JUNIUS*. For both these reasons, it was natural that the Author should, in the Dedication, employ what means he might, to fix the particular attention of future readers upon that portion of his work.

your children, that the liberty of the press is the *palladium* of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman; and that the right of juries to

The liberty of the press is the palladium, &c.] JUNIUS and the other asserters of this position have been right, even beyond what they were themselves aware of. The *free course of public opinion*, through the press, and by every other lawful way of mutual communication, is the only means by which the great body of the people can, without turbulent disorder, and without the desertion of their proper private pursuits, exercise a suitable influence upon the legislation and government of their country. That this influence may be strong and beneficial, *public opinion* must be, at once, *sober, honest, and enlightened*. To the liberty of the press, chastened from licentiousness, must it owe that continually increasing information which is requisite to give it due correctness and authority. Excessive licentiousness of the Press, injures both the authority and the freedom, while it vitiates the integrity of public opinion. At the time when JUNIUS wrote thus, the liberty of the press stood perhaps in need of some regulations to hinder it from impairing its own usefulness by licentious outrage. The restraints which have been since imposed, seem to have in fact rendered it both more formidable and more secure.

The constitutional power of public opinion, exercised through the press by addresses and petitions, in the transactions of trade and industry, in all the modes of reciprocal intercourse and communication, is in the present enlightened state of society in Great Britain, so considerable, as *virtually* to fix in the hands of the people, the *initiative or proposing* authority in regard to almost every new measure, whether of legislative or of executive government. Either directly or indirectly, every such measure begins from public opinion, or is modified in its progress by that opinion, or is frustrated by *its* ultimate resistance. This power of public opinion redresses all the inequalities of the representation, counterbalances that influence of the crown which seems constantly to increase, and accomplishes, while it can be preserved within its proper channel, much more towards the equalization of political rights and duties, than could be done by any general plan of reform.

The right of juries to return a general verdict, &c.] The trial by jury is essentially necessary to the preservation of civil and poli-

return a general verdict, in all cases whatsoever, is an essential part of our constitution, not to be controuled or limited by the judges, nor in any shape questionable by the legislature. The power of King, Lords, and Commons, is not an arbitrary power*. They are the trustees, not the owners, of the estate. The fee-simple is in us. They cannot alienate, they

tical liberty. The jury is an organ by which the people express their interpretation of the laws. It enables the people at almost any time to frustrate an unjust law, and to defeat any tyrannical measure. JUNIUS has not, here, nor elsewhere, either exaggerated its importance, or sought to provoke a jealousy for its preservation, above what it deserves.

* This positive denial, of an arbitrary power being vested in the legislature is not, in fact, a new doctrine. When the Earl of Lindsey, in the year 1675, brought a bill into the House of Lords, *To prevent the dangers which might arise from persons disaffected to the government*, by which an oath and penalty were to be imposed upon the members of both houses, it was affirmed, in a protest signed by twenty-three lay-peers, (my lords the bishops were not accustomed to protest) "That the privilege of sitting and voting in parliament, was an honour they had by birth, and a right so inherent in them, and inseparable from them, *that nothing could take it away*, but what, by the law of the land, must withal take away their lives, and corrupt their blood."—These noble peers (whose names are a reproach to their posterity) have, in this instance, solemnly denied the power of parliament to alter the constitution. Under a particular proposition, they have asserted a general truth, in which every man in England is concerned.

The fee-simple is in us.] This, and the two periods between which it stands, present an instance of a metaphor drawn from the business of common life, in the familiar language of the peculiar province of that business to which it belongs, with a happy propriety of selection, which could not have been exceeded, for the purpose of either enforcement or illustration. Nothing requires greater delicacy of taste, or nicer discernment, than to draw similitudes and metaphors from those parts of knowledge where all is at once fami-

cannot waste. When we say that the legislature is *supreme*, we mean that it is the highest power known to the constitution:—that it is the highest in comparison with the other subordinate powers established by the laws. In this sense, the word *supreme* is relative, not absolute. The power of the legislature is limited, not only by the general rules of natural justice, and the welfare of the community, but by the forms and principles of our particular constitution. If this doctrine be not true, we must admit that King, Lords, and Commons, have no rule to direct their resolutions, but merely their own will and pleasure. They might unite the legislative and executive power in the same hands, and dissolve the constitution by an act of par-

liar and artificial, without descending into vulgarity, without becoming obscure by the pedantic use of technical terms, or inaccurate by the want of them. Few authors are, in this particular, uniformly happy. The most learned and eloquent are often, here, the most defective. Instances of such vulgarity, obscurity, and inaccuracy in the use of figures, are frequent in the writings of BURKE. JOHNSON, avoiding these faults, borrows his allusions and metaphors, not so much from the contemporary practice of the arts and manners of life, as from nature, from the volumes of philosophy, and the stores of classical learning; and when he does transcribe from the common arts and living manners of the world, often mars his purpose, by investing in a strange guise of bookish eloquence, that which would be much more clear and forcible without it. JUNIUS excels, perhaps, all other English writers in the art of dignifying the low and familiar, without encumbering or disguising it.

It is worthy of notice, that in this, as in many other instances, JUNIUS borrows his illustrations from the common law of England, with a readiness and a precision, which shew that the principles and the technical language of this law pervaded his ordinary habits of thinking and of expression.

liament. But I am persuaded you will not leave it to the choice of seven hundred persons notoriously corrupted by the crown, whether seven millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves. The certainty of forfeiting their own rights, when they sacrifice those of the nation, is no check to a brutal degenerate mind. Without insisting upon the extravagant concession made to Harry the Eighth, there are instances, in the history of other countries, of a formal deliberate surrender of the public liberty into the hands of the sovereign. If England does not share the same fate, it is because we have better resources than in the virtue of either house of parliament.

I said that the liberty of the press is the *palladium* of all your rights, and that the right of juries to return a general verdict, is part of your constitution. To preserve the whole system, you must correct your legislature. With regard to any influence of the constituent over the conduct of the representative, there is little difference between a seat in parliament for seven years and a seat for life. The prospect of your resentment is too remote; and although the last

But I am persuaded, &c.] Nothing can be either more vigorously and artfully reasoned, or more impressively addressed to sentiment, than the series of thoughts which fill this and the succeeding periods to the end of the paragraph. Considered by itself, this passage might perhaps seem to breathe too democratical a spirit. But, in fair interpretation, it is to be taken in connexion with the preceding and following parts of the Dedication, as well as with the general tone and design of the work. Thus considered, these sentiments may seem extravagantly bold in accusation; but cannot, to just literary criticism, appear unconstitutional. The principal positions which they contain, will occur hereafter to be particularly examined.

session of a septennial parliament be usually employed in courting the favour of the people, consider that, at this rate, your representatives have six years for offence, and but one for atonement. A death-bed repentance seldom reaches to restitution. If you

A death-bed repentance seldom reaches to restitution.] This metaphor is meant, as it should seem, to be at once jocular and cutting; jocular, in its allusion to a solemnity of religion, and in its comparison of a bad parliament about to be dissolved, with a sinner trying to cheat heaven and himself by an insincere repentance on his death-bed; cutting, in the severity with which it thus strives to throw contempt upon the parliament. But it is rather low and profane, than forcible and illustrative. Its form of expression is somewhat in the cant of methodism. Nor can the language of religion be thus used, without tending to bring religion itself into some sort of disgrace.—An opinion was prevalent among those who, about the time when JUNIUS wrote, affected the praise of eloquence, that the best ornaments of oratory were to be gleaned from the Holy Scriptures, and from the sermons of the English divines of the last century. The Earl of Chatham, Mr. Burke, and the Author of these Letters, were among the most successful of those who sought to draw aids and ornaments to their genius from such sources. But, even they were not always happy in the use of the imagery and the language of religion. Others, of meaner talents, still oftener abused what they, with a sort of idle sacrilege, attempted to borrow, while they encumbered themselves, and marred their own purposes, in the attempt. That affectation has since ceased to be fashionable.—There was, however, another origin of abuses of scriptural phraseology, such as JUNIUS has here committed. The Bible and the Common Prayer-Book were in every person's hands. Allusions to them, might therefore, be generally understood; just like allusions to the objects of general nature, and to the common arts and manners of life. Whatever at once makes itself familiar, and maintains claims of dignity, is apt to be often treated with slighting or sportive disrespect. The mind revolts against its demands of reverence, and takes advantage of the familiarity, in order to throw out scoffing and ridicule. There are certain minds, too, that cannot treat any thing, however important, otherwise than contemptuously, or lightly.

reflect that, in the changes of administration which have marked and disgraced the present reign, although your warmest patriots have in their turn been invested with the lawful and unlawful authority of the crown, and though other reliefs or improvements have been held forth to the people, yet that no one man in office has ever promoted or encouraged a bill for shortening the duration of parliaments, but that (whoever was minister) the opposition to this measure, ever since the septennial act passed, has been constant and uniform on the part of government;—you cannot but conclude, without the possibility of a doubt, that long parliaments are the foundation of the undue influence of the crown. This influence answers every purpose of arbitrary power to the crown, with an expense

From these causes, concurring with the progress of deistical literature and infidel philosophy, has the burlesque and jesting use of the language and sentiments of the Holy Scriptures, insinuated itself deep into the mass of British wit. It deserves to be reprobated by the critic, and avoided by the man of virtue. Even the powers of JUNIUS cannot be permitted thus to disgrace themselves, unrebuked.

This influence answers every purpose of arbitrary power to the crown, &c.] The indirect influence of the executive upon the legislative authority of the British government, has long been the subject of reprobation and complaint among the enthusiasts of liberty and patriotism. They think it dreadfully criminal, that the crown should address itself to aught but the free, disinterested virtue, of all its subjects. On the other hand, it has been speciously and stoutly maintained, that it is in the highest degree just and laudable for the Government to use, for its purposes, the avarice, the perfidy, the resentments, and the vain ambition, of those who would thwart and disturb it if it trusted to their virtue alone for their obedience and support. But, in truth, both these parties egregiously err. It is a crime in rulers, to maintain their authority by debauching the public virtue of

and oppression to the people which would be unnecessary in an arbitrary government. The best of our

their principal subjects. Yet, should this influence cease, at once, to be exerted in Britain; political society would, for the whole empire, be speedily dissolved. It is the order of nature, it is the regulation of God; that, since mankind cannot, as yet, be absolutely virtuous, their vices should be counterpoised, one against another, so as reciprocally to prevent, at least in part, the mischiefs which would otherwise arise from them. The British Constitution happily imitates the divine order of nature, in counterbalancing, for the public good, the vices of the subjects against those of the rulers. Had government no means of working upon the hopes, the fears, the avarice, and the ambition, of the members of the legislature; these might be quickly, nay would be necessarily, driven by their guilty passions, to render the government utterly ineffective. If the members of the legislature, if the subjects of the empire in general, were perfectly disinterested, steadily patriotic, sincerely virtuous; the undue influence of government would be at once changed from a talisman of irresistible power to a broken reed in its hands. But, if the virtue and intelligence, equally of the governors and the governed, should be suddenly and extraordinarily improved; then would corruption, and the pravities of avarice and ambition, cease together. To him who, with the eye of philosophy, contemplates, at a distance, this happy machinery of the British constitution, the indirect influence of the crown cannot but appear to be happily opposed to the selfish passions of those who aspire, without genuine patriotism, to take a part in public affairs: while the turbulent ambition of men from whom the crown withholds its favours, must appear a happy counterpoise to its influence. But, they, who exercise the undue influence of the crown, and they who dishonestly yield to it, or dishonestly oppose it, are alike criminal against their country, and against all the laws of virtue. That minister is the wisest and most upright, who, without aiming at a purity of political action, which, in the present weakness of human nature, might entirely disarm the executive power, yet employs and trusts only disinterested patriotic virtue, so far as it is possible for him, by the aid of this, to maintain the energy, and carry on the necessary functions, of the government which he administers. Whenever this question has been agitated between the friends of the crown, and the friends of the people; the former have always rea-

ministers find it the easiest and most compendious mode of conducting the king's affairs; and all ministers have a general interest in adhering to a system, which of itself is sufficient to support them in office, without any assistance from personal virtue, popularity, labour, abilities, or experience. It promises every gratification to avarice and ambition, and secures impunity.—These are truths unquestionable.—If they make no impression, it is because they are too vulgar and notorious. But the inattention or indifference of the nation has continued too long. You are roused at last to a sense of your danger.—The remedy will soon be in your power. If JUNIUS lives, you shall often be reminded of it. If, when the opportunity presents itself, you neglect to do your duty to yourselves and to posterity,—to God and to your country,—I shall have one consolation left, in common with

soned as if all patriotism were a lie; the latter, as if the monarch and his counsellors could never study aught but to corrupt, to enslave, and to tyrannize over the people. JUNIUS, upon this subject, speaks with the prejudices of a revolution-whig, much more than with philosophical justness and depth of thought.

If JUNIUS lives, you shall often be reminded of it.] We do not know, that this promise was ever fulfilled. Yet it is not from this to be inferred, that the author of these Letters died immediately after he had thus collected them. A change of mind, an alteration of circumstances, a thousand causes which we cannot estimate, might intervene, to make JUNIUS drop the pen forever, after he had formed a monument of genius and public virtue, which it is not easily to be supposed that he could have by any subsequent efforts excelled.

I shall have one consolation left, in common with the meanest and basest of mankind, &c.] Much of what is the most impressive in the eloquence of JUNIUS, is owing to that lofty consciousness of the power of his own genius, which is forever bursting forth, rather indignantly, than boastfully. Were this sentiment a false estimation

the meanest and basest of mankind:—Civil liberty
may still last the life of

JUNIUS.

of his own talents, its effect would be rather ridiculous than commanding and inspiring. But it was the felicity of this writer, to rate his abilities at their true value. It is not the braggery of a vain man, nor the superciliousness of a weakly proud man, but the daring resolution of one that seems to speak of himself, not so much for the sake of mere boasting, as that he may command your discerning confidence, and may incur an inviolable obligation to strain his whole faculties to such exertion, as might prove otherwise impossible to them.

JUNIUS here mentioning the *meanest of mankind*, means evidently to distinguish himself, as worthy of a consolation of which these were incapable. The consolation of saving, by his virtue and talents the liberties of his country, of seeing its constitution immutably established, of perceiving the prosperity of future generations certainly provided for, was that which a great mind like his must necessarily desire. At least, he might hope that consolation of which all who had the common feelings of humanity were alike susceptible, which to the basely selfish might be enough,—the consolation,—that others, not he, were to crouch under the slavery which he in vain strove to avert,—that ere its chains were finally rivetted, he might himself be snatched by death from oppression.

PREFACE.

THE Preface is very nearly of the same character as the Dedication.

It assigns a sufficient reason for the publication of these Letters, in one collection, under the authority of their Author. It endeavours to transfer the literary property of them to Mr. Woodfall, by a conveyance which, though it might be respected by the public, could not, under the circumstances in which it was granted, prove effectual in law. It enumerates the contents of the Letters; mentions the order of their publication; and explains, why the Author had thought it necessary to subscribe, sometimes, the signature of PHILO JUNIUS, rather than JUNIUS. The subsequent parts of it are employed, in recapitulating some leading principles from the Letters; in strengthening them by new argument; in pursuing them through new applications; in rousing passion and prejudice, to aid argument in their favour. The boldest use of the liberty of the press is defended, by mentioning abuse as inseparable even from the best of human things; by pointing out the redress offered by the law to those who may have been injured by wanton libel; by insisting that, for the safety of the constitution, the public ought to be ever free to exercise, through the press, the most jealous and severe censorial authority over the whole conduct, public and private, of magistrates and ministers. The right of juries to judge both of fact and law, is on account of its connexion with the freedom of the press, and with the very stamina of constitutional liberty, zealously maintained. Lord Mansfield, as the great adversary of this doctrine, is fiercely arraigned. The Author descends into an anxious particularity and detail of argument; which seem to shew that, in regard to the point of law, he was not quite sure of having convinced himself. The English and the Scots, had not, even then, sufficiently intermingled into one people: and JUNIUS, in his English zeal, scruples not to

spirit up and inflame prejudices against the Scots, which the conduct of some Scotsmen, who had risen to invidious greatness in England, tended perhaps but too much to encourage. With almost all the lawyers and politicians who have treated of this point, JUNIUS understood not the true force, nor the true reason, of this principle—that the King can do no wrong. He takes occasion, in the course of this Preface, to deny its force; and to apostrophise his Sovereign, in language pregnant with strong and impressive meaning, but much more eloquent than respectful. The quotation from De Lolme, with which the Preface is concluded, is not undeserving of the praise which JUNIUS bestows upon it. It not unhappily states and illustrates the irresistible power of free and enlightened public opinion, to make every government bend before its current.

THE encouragement given to a multitude of spurious, mangled publications of the Letters of JUNIUS, persuades me, that a complete edition, corrected and improved by the author, will be favourably received. The printer will readily acquit me of any view to my own profit. I undertake this troublesome task, merely to serve a man who has deserved well of me, and of the public; and who, on my account, has been exposed to an expensive, tyrannical prosecution. For these reasons, I give to MR. HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL, and to him alone, my right, interest, and property in these Letters, as fully and completely, to all intents and purposes, as an author can possibly convey his property in his own works to another.

This edition contains all the Letters of JUNIUS, PHILO JUNIUS, and of Sir WILLIAM DRAPER and

Mr. HORNE to JUNIUS, with their respective dates, and according to the order in which they appeared in the Public Advertiser. The auxiliary part of PHILO JUNIUS was indispensably necessary to defend or explain particular passages in JUNIUS, in answer to plausible objections; but the subordinate character is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal. The fraud was innocent, and I always intended to explain it. The notes will be found not only useful, but necessary. References to facts not generally known, or allusions to the current report or opinion of the day, are in a little time unintelligible. Yet the reader will not find himself overloaded with explanations. I was not born to be a commentator, even upon my own works.

It remains to say a few words upon the liberty of the press. The daring spirit, by which these Letters

References to facts not generally known, or allusions to the current report or opinion of the day, are in a little time unintelligible.] These words express a well-known fact, which has long begun to appear strikingly in the fate of these Letters. The consideration of it, had a principal influence in suggesting the design of these Notes. With whatever hasty contempt JUNIUS may have spoken of Commentators, he might probably expect that his work would, one day, engage the labours of one. Nor could he deem that man to be meanly employed, who should, in this character, toil over such a book. I should suspect, by what he here says of Notes, that he intended, when he wrote this Preface, to add a greater number of those, than actually appear, under the Text, throughout these Volumes. If he had no such intention; his talk of the Notes, in this place, was certainly too operose for the very few with which he has illustrated his own Text.

It remains to say a few words upon the liberty of the press.] What JUNIUS says, here, of the liberty of the press, seems intended as an apology for that bold licence of invective which runs through

are supposed to be distinguished, seems to require that something serious should be said in their defence. I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read, than every English gentleman should be, in the laws of his country. If, therefore, the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law. I speak to the plain understanding of the people, and appeal to their honest, liberal construction of me.

Good men, to whom alone I address myself, appear to me to consult their piety as little as their judgment and experience, when they admit the great and essential advantages accruing to society from the freedom of the press, yet indulge themselves in peevish or passionate exclamations against the abuses of it. Betraying an unreasonable expectation of benefits pure, and entire, from any human institution, they in effect arraign the goodness of providence, and confess that they are dissatisfied with the common lot of humanity. In the present instance, they really create to their own minds, or greatly exaggerate, the evil they complain of. The laws of England provide, as effectually as any human laws can do, for the protection of the subject, in his reputation as well as in his person and

the general tenor of these Letters. The defence is, at least, specious. Had there not been a want of energy in the government of that day, perhaps the publication of Letters so bold in personal invective, might have been checked in its very commencement. How much would, in that case, have been lost to eloquence, and to the illustration of a period on many accounts one of the most interesting in the British history?

property. If the characters of private men are insulted or injured, a double remedy is open to them, by *action* and *indictment*. If, through indolence, false shame, or indifference, they will not appeal to the laws of their country, they fail in their duty to society, and are unjust to themselves. If, from an unwarrantable distrust of the integrity of juries, they would wish to obtain justice by any mode of proceeding more summary than a trial by their peers, I do not scruple to affirm, that they are in effect greater enemies themselves than to the libeller they prosecute.

With regard to strictures upon the characters of men in office, and the measures of government, the case is a little different. A considerable latitude must be allowed in the discussion of public affairs, or the liberty of the press will be of no benefit to society. As the indulgence of private malice and personal slander should be checked and resisted by every legal means, so a constant examination into the characters and conduct of ministers and magistrates should be equally promoted and encouraged. They, who conceive that our newspapers are no restraint upon bad men, or impediment to the execution of bad measures, know nothing of this country. In that state of abandoned servility and prostitution, to which the undue influence of the crown has reduced the other branches of the legislature, our ministers and magistrates have in reality little punishment to fear, and few difficulties to contend with, beyond the censure of the press, and the spirit of resistance which it excites among the people. While this censorial power is maintained,

to speak in the words of a most ingenious foreigner, both minister and magistrate is compelled, in almost every instance, to *choose between his duty and his reputation*. A dilemma of this kind perpetually before him, will not indeed work a miracle on his heart, but it will assuredly operate in some degree, upon his conduct. At all events, these are not times to admit of any relaxation in the little discipline we have left.

But it is alleged, that the licentiousness of the press is carried beyond all bounds of decency and truth;—that our excellent ministers are continually exposed to the public hatred or derision;—that, in prosecutions for libels on government, juries are partial to the popular side;—and that, in the most flagrant cases, a verdict cannot be obtained for the King.—If the premises were admitted, I should deny the conclusion. It is not true, that the temper of the times has in general an undue influence over the conduct of juries. On the contrary, many signal instances may be pro-

On the contrary, many signal instances may be produced, &c.] The whole series of the British history evinces the truth of the general assertion in this period. Except in some seasons of popular phrenzy, English juries have, ever, more eminently than any other courts, ancient or modern, stood unbiassed, in the trial of great public questions, either by servility to a government, or devotedness to a popular faction. There have been moments, indeed, when even by these juries, not truth and justice, but the wishes of a minister, or the clamour of a seditious populace, were chiefly respected: but such occasions have been rare and transient: and the nation have ever been eager to make atonement for the ills inflicted by them. Compare with the political conduct of English juries, that of the late parliaments of France; how much more honourable to human nature, is the conduct of the juries? Never was this praise more conspicuously deserved, than in the trials for sedition and treason, which

duced of verdicts returned for the King, when the inclinations of the people led strongly to an undistinguishing opposition to government. Witness the cases of Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Almon.—In the late prosecutions of the printers of my address to a great personage, the juries were never fairly dealt with. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, conscious that the paper in question contained no treasonable or libellous matter, and that the severest parts of it, however painful to the King, or offensive to his servants, were strictly true, would fain have restricted the jury to the finding of special facts, which, as to *guilty* or *not guilty*, were merely indifferent. This particular motive, combined with his general purpose to contract the power of juries, will account for the charge he delivered in *Woodfall's* trial. He told the jury, in so many words that they had nothing to determine, except the fact of *printing and publishing*, and whether or no the *blanks* or *innuendoes* were properly filled up in the information;—but that, whether the defendant had committed a *crime*, or not, was no matter of consideration to twelve men, who yet, upon their oaths, were to pronounce their peer *guilty*, or *not guilty*. When we hear such nonsense delivered from the bench, and find it supported by a laboured train of sophistry, which a plain understanding is unable to follow, and which an unlearned

have taken place in England, since the year 1788. On each side, the verdicts of juries have set bounds, both to the insolence of sedition, and to the vindictiveness of offended authority. The people have heard their voice, and have recognized it as their own.—The history of the cases of Almon and Wilkes, will be more seasonably introduced hereafter.

jury, however it may shock their reason, cannot be supposed qualified to refute, can it be wondered that they should return a verdict, perplexed, absurd, or imperfect?—Lord Mansfield has not yet explained to the world, why he accepted of a verdict, which the court afterwards set aside as illegal; and which, as it took no notice of the *innuendoes*, did not even correspond with his own charge. If he had known his duty, he should have sent the jury back.—I speak advisedly, and am well assured, that no lawyer of character in Westminster-Hall will contradict me. To shew the falsehood of Lord Mansfield's doctrine, it is not necessary to enter into the merits of the paper which produced the trial. If every line of it were treason, his charge to the jury would still be false, absurd, illegal, and unconstitutional. If I stated the merits of my letter to *the King*, *I should imitate Lord Mansfield, and** TRAVEL OUT OF THE RECORD.

Accepted of a verdict.] A colloquial barbarism for *accepted a verdict*.

To shew the falsehood of Lord Mansfield's doctrine, &c.] The right of juries to return a general verdict; the endeavours of Lord Mansfield to confine them to the simple finding of the facts alleged, true or false; the discussions in the trial on account of JUNIUS's Letter to the King; and the fierce vengeful contradiction of the opinion of Lord Mansfield—which fill this whole paragraph, and several subsequent ones—are all such as to deserve much and various illustration. But this is not the proper place. They will arise more fitly to our consideration in the progress of the Letters. We should do wrong to exhaust our materials unseasonably, in erecting merely the park gate and the porter's lodge.

* The following quotation from a speech delivered by Lord Chatham, on the 11th of December, 1770, is taken with exactness. The reader will find it curious in itself, and very fit to be inserted here. "My Lord's, the verdict given in Woodfall's trial, was *guilty of printing and publishing ONLY*; upon which two motions were made

*When law and reason speak plainly, we do not want authority to direct our understandings. Yet, for the honour of the profession, I am content to oppose one lawyer to another, especially when it happens that the King's Attorney General has virtually disclaimed the doctrine by which the Chief Justice meant to insure success to the prosecution. The opinion of the plaintiff's counsel, (however it may be otherwise insignificant) is weighty in the scale of the defendant.—My Lord Chief Justice De Grey who filed the information *ex officio*, is directly with me. If he had concurred*

*in court;—one, in arrest of judgment, by the defendant's counsel, grounded upon the ambiguity of the verdict;—the other, by the counsel for the crown, for a rule upon the defendant, to shew cause why the verdict should not be entered up according to the legal import of the words. On both motions, a rule was granted. and soon after, the matter was argued before the Court of King's Bench. The noble judge, when he delivered the opinion of the court upon the verdict, went regularly through the whole of the proceedings at *Nisi Prius*, as well the evidence that had been given, as his own charge to the jury. This proceeding would have been very proper, had a motion been made on either side for a new trial; because either a verdict given contrary to evidence, or an improper charge by the judge at *Nisi Prius*, is held to be a sufficient ground for granting a new trial. But when a motion is made in arrest of judgment, or for establishing the verdict by entering it up according to the legal import of the words, it must be on the ground of something appearing *on the face of the record*; and the court in considering whether the verdict shall be established or not, are so confined to the *record*; that they cannot take notice of any thing that does not appear on the face of it; in the legal phrase, *they cannot travel out of the record*. The noble judge did travel out of the record; and I affirm, that his discourse was *irregular, extrajudicial, and unprecedented*. His apparent motive for doing what he knew to be wrong, was, that he might have an opportunity of telling the public *ex-rajudicially*, that the other three judges concurred in the doctrine laid down in his charge."*

Handwritten note: 1722
 Lib. of the Hon. Sec. of State
 1722

in Lord Mansfield's doctrine, the trial must have been a very short one. The facts were either admitted by *Woodfall's* counsel, or easily proved to the satisfaction of the jury. But Mr. De Grey, far from thinking he should acquit himself of his duty by barely proving the facts, entered largely, and I confess not without ability, into the demerits of the paper, which he called *a seditious libel*. He dwelt but lightly upon those points, which (according to Lord Mansfield) were the only matter of consideration to the jury. The criminal intent, the libellous matter, the pernicious tendency of the paper itself, were the topics on which he principally insisted, and of which, for more than an hour, he tortured his faculties to convince the jury. If he agreed in opinion with Lord Mansfield, his discourse was impertinent, ridiculous, and unreasonable. But, understanding the law as I do, what he said was at least consistent and to the purpose.

If any honest man should still be inclined to leave the construction of libels to the court, I would intreat him to consider what a dreadful complication of hardships he imposes upon his fellow-subjects.—In the first place, the prosecution commences by *information* of an officer of the crown, not by the regular constitutional mode of *indictment* before a grand jury. As the fact is usually admitted, or in general can easily be proved, the office of the petty jury is nugatory.—The *court* then judges of the nature and extent of the offence, and determines *ad arbitrium* the *quantum* of the punishment, from a small fine to a heavy one, to repeated whipping, to pillory, and unlimited imprisonment. Cutting off ears and noses *might* still be

inflicted by a resolute judge; but I will be candid enough to suppose that penalties, so apparently shocking to humanity, would not be hazarded in these times.—In all other criminal prosecutions, the jury decides upon the fact and the crime in one word; and the court pronounces a *certain* sentence, which is the sentence of the law, not of the judge. If Lord Mansfield's doctrine be received, the jury must either find a verdict of acquittal, contrary to evidence, (which, I can conceive, might be done by very conscientious men; rather than trust a fellow-creature to Lord Mansfield's mercy) or they must leave to the court two offices, never but in this instance united, of finding guilty, and awarding punishment.

But, says this honest *Lord Chief Justice*, "If the paper be not criminal, the defendant" (though found guilty by his peers) "is in no danger, for he may move the court in arrest of judgment."—True, my good Lord, but who is to determine upon the motion?—Is not the court still to decide, whether judgment shall be entered up or not? and is not the defendant this way as effectually deprived of judgment by his peers, as if he were tried in a court of civil law, or in the chambers of the inquisition? It is you, my Lord, who then try the crime, not the jury. As to the probable effect of the motion in arrest of judgment, I shall only observe, that no reasonable man would be so eager to possess himself of the invidious power of inflicting punishment, if he were not predetermined to make use of it.

Again;—We are told, that judge and jury have a distinct office; that the jury is to find the fact, and

the judge to deliver the law. *De jure respondent judices, de facto jurati.* The *dictum* is true, though not in the sense given to it by Lord Mansfield. The jury are undoubtedly to determine the fact; that is, whether the defendant did or did not commit the crime charged against him. The judge pronounces the sentence annexed by law to that fact so found; and if, in the course of the trial, any question of law arises, both the counsel and the jury must, of necessity, appeal to the judge, and leave it to his decision. An *exception* or *plea in bar* may be allowed by the court; but, when issue is joined, and the jury have received their charge, it is not possible, in the nature of things, for them to separate the law from the fact, unless they think proper to return a *special* verdict.

It has also been alleged that, although a common jury are sufficient to determine a plain matter of fact, they are not qualified to comprehend the meaning, or to judge of the tendency, of a seditious libel. In answer to this objection, (which, if well founded, would prove nothing as to the *strict right* of returning a general verdict) I might safely deny the truth of the assertion. Englishmen of that rank from which juries are usually taken, are not so illiterate as (to serve a particular purpose) they are now represented. Or, admitting the fact; let a special jury be summoned in all cases of difficulty and importance, and the objection is removed. But the truth is, that if a paper, supposed to be a libel upon government, be so obscurely worded, that twelve common men cannot possibly see the seditious meaning and tendency of it, it is in effect

no libel. It cannot inflame the minds of the people, nor alienate their affections from government; for they no more understand what it means, than if it were published in a language unknown to them.

Upon the whole matter, it appears, to *my* understanding, clear beyond a doubt, that if, in any future prosecution for a seditious libel, the jury should bring in a verdict of acquittal not warranted by the evidence, it will be owing to the false and absurd doctrines laid down by Lord Mansfield. Disgusted at the odious artifices made use of by the judge to mislead and perplex them, guarded against his sophistry, and convinced of the falsehood of his assertions, they may perhaps determine to thwart his detestable purpose, and defeat him at any rate. To *him* at least they will do *substantial justice*.—Whereas, if the whole charge laid in the information be fairly and honestly submitted to the jury, there is no reason whatsoever to presume that twelve men, upon their oaths, will not decide impartially between the King and the defendant. The numerous instances, in our state-trials, of verdicts recovered for the King, sufficiently refute the false and scandalous imputations thrown by the abettors of Lord Mansfield upon the integrity of juries.—But even admitting the supposition that, in times of universal discontent, arising from the notorious misadministration of public affairs, a seditious writer should escape punishment, it makes nothing against my general argument. If juries are fallible, to what other tribunal shall we appeal?—If juries cannot safely be trusted, shall we unite the offices of judge and jury,

so wisely divided by the constitution, and trust implicitly to Lord Mansfield?—Are the judges of the court of King's Bench more likely to be unbiassed and impartial than twelve yeomen, burgesses, or gentlemen, taken indifferently from the county at large?—Or, in short, shall there be *no* decision, until we have instituted a tribunal, from which no possible abuse or inconvenience whatsoever can arise? If I am not grossly mistaken, these questions carry a decisive answer along with them.

Having cleared the freedom of the press from a restraint equally unnecessary and illegal, I return to the use which has been made of it in the present publication.

National reflections, I confess, are not justified in theory, nor upon any general principles. To know how well they are deserved, and how justly they have been applied, we must have the evidence of facts before us. We must be conversant with the *Scots* in private life, and observe their principles of acting to *us*, and to each other:—the characteristic prudence, the selfish nationality, the indefatigable smile, the persevering assiduity, the everlasting profession of a discreet and moderate resentment.—If the instance were not too important for an experiment, it might not be amiss to confide a little in their integrity.—Without any abstract reasoning upon causes and effects, we shall soon be convinced by *experience*, that the *Scots*, transplanted from their own country, are

The Scots transplanted from their own country, are always a distinct and separate body.] This assertion was, even at the time when

always a distinct and separate body from the people who receive them. In other settlements, they only love themselves; in *England*, they cordially love themselves, and as cordially hate their neighbours. For the remainder of their good qualities, I must appeal to the reader's observation, unless he will accept of my Lord Barrington's authority. In a letter to the late Lord Melcombe, published by Mr. Lee, he expresses himself with a truth and accuracy not very common in his lordship's lucubrations.—“And Cockburn, *like most of his countrymen*, is as abject to those above him, as he is insolent to those below him.”—I am far from meaning to impeach the articles of the union. If the true spirit of those articles were religiously adhered to, we should not see such a multitude of Scotch commoners in the lower house, as representatives of English boroughs, while not a single Scotch borough is ever represented by an Englishman. We should not see English peerages given to Scotch ladies, or to the elder sons of Scotch peers, and the number of *sixteen* doubled and trebled by a scandalous evasion of the act of union. If it should ever be thought advisable to dissolve an act, the violation or observance of which

JUNIUS wrote it, too much in the spirit of English prejudice. It would now strike every ingenuous and well-informed English mind, as palpably false. The Scots and the English have happily and completely amalgamated into one people. They who were inflamed to the utmost extravagance of political rage and hatred, when they saw Lord Bute, Secretary of State, now see several of the first ministerial employments filled by Mr. Dundas, without the slightest dissatisfaction on the score of his being a Scotsman.

is invariably directed by the advantage and interest of the *Scots*, I shall say very sincerely with Sir Edward Coke,* “When poor England stood alone, and had not the access of another kingdom, and yet had more and as potent enemies as it now hath, yet the King of England prevailed.”

Some opinion may now be expected from me, upon a point of equal delicacy to the writer, and hazard to the printer. When the character of the chief magistrate is in question, more must be understood than may be safely expressed. If it be really a part of our constitution, and not a mere *dictum* of the law, *that the King can do no wrong*, it is not the only instance, in the wisest of human institutions, where theory is at variance with practice. That the sovereign of this country is not amenable to any form of trial known to the laws, is unquestionable. But exemption from punishment is a singular privilege annexed to the royal character, and no way excludes the possibility of deserving it. How long, and to what extent, a King of England may be protected by the forms, when he violates the spirit of the constitution, deserves to be considered. A mistake in this matter proved fatal to *Charles* and his son. For my own part, far from thinking that the King can do no wrong, far from suffering myself to be deterred or imposed upon by the language of forms, in opposition to the substantial evidence of truth, if it were my misfortune to live under the inauspicious reign of a prince, whose whole life was employed in one base,

* Parliamentary History, V. 7. p. 400.

contemptible struggle with the free spirit of his people, or in the detestable endeavour to corrupt their moral principles, I would not scruple to declare to him,—“Sir, you alone are the author of the greatest wrong to your subjects and to yourself. Instead of reigning in the hearts of your people, instead of commanding their lives and fortunes through the medium of their affections, has not the strength of the crown, whether influence or prerogative, been uniformly exerted, for eleven years together, to support a narrow, pitiful system of government, which defeats itself, and answers no one purpose of real power, profit, or personal satisfaction to you?—With the greatest unappropriated revenue of any prince in Europe, have we not seen you reduced to such vile and sordid distresses, as would have conducted any other man to a prison?—With a great military, and the greatest naval power in the known world, have not foreign nations repeatedly insulted you with impunity?—Is it not notorious, that the vast revenues, extorted from the labour and industry of your subjects, and given you to do honour to yourself and to the nation, are dissipated in corrupting their repre-

“*Sir, you alone are the author of the greatest wrong, &c.*] This passage, and the paragraph which follows it, are in a high, but somewhat outrageous tone of eloquence. In one or two of the phrases, the lofty dignity of oratorical and patriot invective, is almost sacrificed for the vulgarity of a scolding market-woman. That which provoked such an address as this to the Sovereign, seems to have been chiefly his avoiding implicitly to abandon the reigns of government, as had been done by his grandfather, and great grandfather, to the whig aristocracy.

sentatives?—Are you a prince of the house of Hanover, and do you exclude all the leading whig families from your councils?—Do you profess to govern according to law, and is it consistent with that profession, to impart your confidence and affection to those men only, who though now perhaps detached from the desperate cause of the pretender, are marked in this country by an hereditary attachment to high and arbitrary principles of government?—Are you so infatuated as to take the sense of your people from the representation of ministers, or from the shouts of a mob, notoriously hired to surround your coach, or stationed at a theatre?—And if you are, in reality, that public man, that King, that magistrate, which these questions suppose you to be, is it any answer to your people, to say that, among your domestics you are good-humoured;—that to one lady you are faithful;—that to your children you are indulgent?—Sir, the man who addresses you in these terms is your best friend. He would willingly hazard his life in defence of your title to the crown; and, if *power* be your object, would still shew you how possible it is for a King of England, by the noblest means, to be the most absolute prince in Europe. You have no enemies, Sir, but those who persuade you to aim at power without right, and who think it flattery to tell you that the character of King dissolves the natural relation between guilt and punishment.”

I cannot conceive that there is a heart so callous, or an understanding so depraved, as to attend to a dis-

course of this nature, and not to feel the force of it. But where is the man, among those who have access to the closet, resolute and honest enough to deliver it? The liberty of the press is our only resource. It will command an audience, when every honest man in the kingdom is excluded. This glorious privilege may be a security to the King, as well as a resource to his people. Had there been no star-chamber, there would have been no rebellion against Charles the first. The constant censure and admonition of the press would have corrected his conduct, prevented a civil war, and saved him from an ignominious death. I am no friend to the doctrine of precedents, exclusive of right; though lawyers often tell us, that whatever has been once done, may lawfully be done again.

I shall conclude this preface, with a quotation, applicable to the subject, from a foreign writer*, whose essay on the English constitution I beg leave to recommend to the public, as a performance, deep, solid, and ingenious.

“ In short, whoever considers what it is that constitutes the moving principle of what we call great affairs, and the invincible sensibility of man to the opinion of his fellow-creatures, will not hesitate to affirm that, if it were possible for the liberty of the press to exist in a despotic government, and (what is not less difficult) for it to exist without changing the constitution, this liberty of the press would alone form a counterpoise to the power of the prince. If, for example, in an empire of the East, a sanctuary

* Monsieur De Lolme.

could be found, which, rendered respectable by the ancient religion of the people, might ensure safety to those who should bring thither their observations of any kind; and that, from thence, printed papers should issue, which, under a certain seal, might be equally respected; and which, in their daily appearance, should examine and freely discuss the conduct of the Cadis, the Bashaws, the Vizir, the Divan, and the Sultan himself; that would introduce, immediately, some degree of liberty."

As a literary composition, the Preface seems to excel the Dedication. It contains more profound remarks, more cogent reasoning, more fervid eloquence. It must have been written with more elaborate care, and with a more studied unity of design. Yet, it bears this mark of the hand of an English, rather than of a French, or a Scottish author—that it is finished with felicity, pains, and skill, in particular passages, much rather than well-digested, with due congruity and combination of parts, as a whole.

LETTERS OF JUNIUS, &c.

LETTER I.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

IN order to explain the origin of the political contentions which prevailed when the Author of these Letters began his correspondence with the Printer of the Public Advertiser, it will be necessary to look backward, to a considerable distance, upon the rise of parties in England, and the history of the Constitution.

The British and Anglo-Saxon ancestors of the people of England, were originally members of free republican communities, or the subjects of small principalities, whose sovereigns held but an uncertain and irregular authority, that if, sometimes, for a few moments, furious and tyrannical, was much oftener so feeble as to be, with impunity, spurned, contemned, and trampled upon. They possessed their lands, not as the feudal tenants of the prince, but free from all obligation, save that of performing certain services for the internal and external protection of the community. They had slaves; the captives whom they took in war, or the descendants of the former possessors of conquered territories, who, to preserve their lives, had submitted, to servitude. Written laws had hardly been, as yet, established amongst them; but custom

had the authority of law, and one judicial decision naturally imitated the example of another. The freemen possessing lands, and discharging public duties, were obliged to assemble in a great national council or army, whenever rebellion, invasion, the recurrence of a stated period, or any sudden public exigency, demanded the common force and intelligence, to be exercised together for the benefit of the whole: and this was the primitive Constitution of the MICKLEGEMOTE of the Anglo-Saxons. The WIPPTENAGEMOTE assembled more frequently; and was a sort of senate, irregularly composed of the confidential servants of the King, the most deserving favourites of the people, and since it was seldom a lucrative service, often, also, of such others as were the most forward to attend it.

These communities were unfixed, and incessantly fluctuating in the modes of their political existence. Rebellion, invasion, conquests; all the wonted changes incident to barbarism; soon conspired to dissolve most of the petty, independent principalities of the Saxon Heptarchy, and to combine their people under fewer separate dominions, with inequalities of rank, and gradations of dependency, in which feodism had, for our forefathers, its first rude beginnings. The Ecclesiastical History of Bede, the Saxon Remains collected by Hickes, a multitude of particulars scattered through Domesday-Book, not a few gleanings which a skilful hand might select from the indubitably Saxon part of our common law, sufficiently bespeak the gradual rise of an imperfect feudal system of connexion and dependency in England, during those times which succeeded from the re-union of the principalities of the heptarchy, to the era of the accession of the Norman race of Kings to the English throne. Their accession established feodism in its most regular form. By its laws, there were in the kingdom but two classes of subjects—freemen and slaves. The freemen, among whom the military vassals were pre-eminent, possessed their lands by tenures which they were free to renounce; and, on the condition of performing to their Sovereign certain services and homage, beyond which he could lawfully exact from them nothing more. But it was impossible; that occasions should not continually arise, in the course of government, for which no provision was made in the feudal charters, and which demanded, for the support of the monarch, or the defence of the kingdom, new services, such as could be given only by free consent.

When such services were wanted, the Sovereign naturally called together all his own immediate vassals, by whatever sort of free tenure their lands were held. If he wanted military services alone, it was unnecessary to summon more than the military vassals. Did he want services, which vassals holding by soccage, or by burgage tenure, must voluntarily perform: these, also, were to be summoned, to give their consent with the rest. Nothing but the services stipulated in his charter, might be forced from any vassal without his consent. No freeholders, under charter, were to be overlooked, if their services were wanted. Thus assembled, in the presence of their Sovereign, they composed the PARLIAMENT. His wishes were proposed to them: they assented to what he required, or denied it. They, on the other hand, proposed whatever new exemptions, or concessions, they might desire to wrest from him: he granted, or rejected, their requests. The business of the Parliament was thus transacted. None were eager to be summoned to it: for, to excuse them from attendance, was to grant relief from a burdensome service. It was composed chiefly of military freeholders: for, in a martial and barbarous age, there were few freemen who did not bear arms. It admitted others, beside the military tenants of the crown; because all, from whom there was wanted aught not stipulated in their charters, must give their consent before that could be lawfully exacted from them. The whole Parliament met in one assembly; because, in those days, the formality of living in different apartments, or at a number of different tables in the same house, was little understood; because their discussions were rarely very complex, or much prolonged; because their numbers, on any particular occasion, were not such as to make it absolutely impossible for them to deliberate and vote together, in one undivided body, and at one place.—In return for all that, by the stipulations in their charters, and by their grants in parliamentary assembly, the free vassals gave or performed to their Sovereign; he protected them in the enjoyment of their freeholds, equally against injury arising internally from among themselves, and against that which might be menaced by a foreign foe.

Such was the essential nature of the feudal government, in it's purest form: and such the genuine original constitution of the parliament of England. In the progress of English affairs, many concessions were successively wrested from the monarchs; and, on the other

hand, the Kings acquired advantages against their free subjects, by acts of parliament continually accumulating, and by practices of oppression insensibly introduced, till at last parliaments came to acknowledge them, and judges to decide upon them, as law. Availing themselves of a season of weakness in the monarchical authority, the vassals of the crown forced from King John one general charter; which added new advantages and immunities to those which they enjoyed by their respective private charters, while it precisely explained to what degree the feudal system had at that time departed in England from its primitive principles.

Since the spirit of the community became continually less fierce and barbarous; the system of legislation and government could not but gradually accommodate itself to the change. Personal service from his vassals, became less acceptable to the monarch than money, with which he might procure such service from others, who would perform it better. To the vassals occupying towns under burgage tenures, the command of their time, and such freedom from the calls of personal service, as should allow them to devote themselves to the pursuits of trade and industry, were too desirable not to be gladly purchased with the largest supplies which they thought themselves able to afford. In comparison with them, the greatest landholders, who exercised no traffic, were poor in money. Those burgesses, hence, became continually of higher importance to their Sovereign, and more considerable in his parliaments. As money was expected much rather from them than from the great military landholders; they were permitted to determine by themselves, what sums they should grant at their Sovereign's request,—without the presence of those landholders to over-rule their determination:—Thus was produced the original separation of the Commons, to deliberate in a separate chamber from the Peers. They held their tenures, on the condition of supplying, each borough, only a certain number of persons—not actually, at all times, the whole number of the burgesses—for their Sovereign's service. They served, in fact, in parliament, and on other occasions, BY REPRESENTATION. The notion of this mode of parliamentary service having been once introduced, became gradually familiar to men's minds; and, in the decline of feodism, was carried, in practice beyond the burgesses, even to all the rest of the King's immediate vassals, who were not high officers of the state. The Peers were, as is well known, in the

origin of the peerage, not merely landholders with peculiar appellations and some privileges of dress and precedence; but actually, every one, officers of the crown, performing services for which their lands were the reward, and having, for titles, their precise official denominations. Before the parliament was distributed into two houses, the Peers had begun to be, in general, much rather nominally, than officially such. Yet, their original character still remained, sufficiently, to regulate their division from the Commons, at that time, and to make them to be obliged to personal service in parliament, while the Commons obtained permission to perform that service by their representatives.

After the parliament of England had thus assumed the form which it still retains, the arts and habits of peace went on, with increasing rapidity, to abolish the strength of the feudal system. The feudal became, as to substantial effect, merely soccage-tenures. The military vassals of the crown suffered themselves to be gradually disarmed: and, instead of them, soldiers receiving pay in money were employed to fight their King's battles. The same struggles which had prevailed between them and the sovereign, were, however, still renewed. It might be doubtful for a while, who should be finally and completely successful: whether the monarch, in subduing their liberties and those of the whole people; or the people and the nobles, in establishing those liberties beyond all possibility of their being ever subverted by the crown. It was impossible, that the contest between the crown and the people, for power, should not be always prolonged; for, in the relative situations of a King and his subjects, it is not in human nature to refrain from this contention. The crisis arrived, throughout Europe, when, in consequence of the dissolution of the feudal militia, it was to be determined, whether the Sovereign should not be, also, in fact, disarmed, and no military force, henceforth, maintained, but what the whole nation might, at any time, dissolve or employ, at their pleasure. It's insular situation; the reformation of religion inspiring it's inhabitants with a spirit more than adequate to compensate, for a time, for the decline of the military one; it's commerce, emancipating the people, and raising them up to be auxiliaries against the subjugating ambition of the crown; the seasonable union of the Scottish and English crowns taking away almost the last necessity there was for intrusting the monarch with a standing army; the pacific character of James

the First, which carelessly neglected to maintain even such a military force, as both the temper of his subjects, and the state of the times, demanded; the example of the Dutch provinces; the revival of ancient learning; and the progress of puritanical theology, and of the study of the English law; saved England from the fate of the kingdoms of the continent; and sealed the Charter of the Liberties of the people, in the blood of Charles the First.

From the æra of the origin of those discontents in which the great civil war began, we trace the rise of the two parties which still subsist in Britain. Interest, error, enthusiasm, and a disposition to resist those novelties which others had the honour of proposing, strongly attached one party to the cause of the royal authority. An indignant sense of oppression, a desire of new distinction, the persuasion of new political principles, and the yet unextinguished spirit of the old feudal barons, formed a party who inclined not a little towards Dutch republicanism, though they pretended to desire nothing so much, as to restore the ancient feudal freedom of England, in its genuine purity and strength. But the civil war, though it did indeed contribute to the progress and the security of British liberty, was not indispensably necessary to its preservation. At the close of the reign of James the First, that liberty was already safe beyond the danger of being effectually subverted, if not by some flagrant violation of the laws, not to be perpetrated but by force of arms. The necessary progress of law and of knowledge might have done the rest, without the guilt of the authors of the grand rebellion, or the misery of its victims. Its issue restored that balance between the parties, which had been destroyed, just as the rebellion broke out. That balance was again disturbed, by the unlucky endeavours of Charles and James the Second to imitate Gallic despotism, and by the storm of overpowering resistance which was quickly excited against James.

The REVOLUTION did not restore the equipoise which the conduct of James had destroyed. It did not materially alter the principles of the opposition between the rival parties. They now acquired the denominations of WHIGS and TORIES; terms, at first, of vulgar reproach, but afterwards proudly owned by those who had been opprobriously branded with them. Even the Tories would not wholly vindicate the cause of the abdicated monarch; though, if it had not been for the Whigs, they would, from both principle and affection,

have much longer endured what they could not approve. The Whigs, on the other hand, having obtained a monarch of their own choice, expected, that he would own himself their creature, and lay the crown and its prerogatives at their feet. WILLIAM's views, talents, and principles, made him capable of better things. He courted as well the Tories as the Whigs; still employed the one party to defeat the unreasonable wishes of the other; thus supported the authority of the crown, while he was the saviour of the liberties of the people; happily prevented a restoration of the exiled prince, and a renewed series of civil wars; brought the Tories to believe it necessary to the success of their interests and principles, that they should abandon the cause of James,—and the Whigs to think, that without adopting somewhat of a Tory attachment to the monarch whom they had seated on the throne, they should derive no lasting personal advantages from their triumph.

In the beginning of the reign of ANNE, the opposition of the rival parties, was not more than sufficient to rouse the whole national energies into full and useful activity. The Whigs were her ministers; the Tories her favourites. Whig principles of government and obedience prevailed; Whig measures of foreign policy were pursued. Having the reins of government in their hands, the Whigs strove to establish themselves immoveably in the seat of power: the union, the war, the encouragement of the hopes of the House of Hanover, were their grand expedients for precluding, forever, the return of the exiled Stuarts; and for perpetuating to the families, and the party, that achieved the revolution, the security, the emoluments, and the influence, which they had naturally expected from that event. In the actual exercise of power, they were obliged to forget many of those principles, on which they had at other times demanded that the government should be conducted: but, the party-combination, not the abstract principles of political faith, was what they chiefly cared for. Not so much the ability and vigilance of the Whigs, however, as the pusillanimity of the Jacobites and Tories; their lukewarmness, their perfidy to the very cause which they boastfully espoused, and which exposed them to many a loss and suffering; finally defeated every attempt that was made, to restore the immediate sovereignty; or, at least, the hope of the regal succession, to

the exiled princes. The Tories, for a time, continued to desert their party, and to crouch to the Whigs in power, for a morsel of bread; but were often involved in the guilt of political apostasy, without reaping its expected reward. At last, the invidious greatness to which the passive spirit of Queen Anne had allowed the Whigs to ascend; the insolence with which they abused their prosperity; the alarms of the church; the impatience of the landholders, under new burdens; the transference of the Queen's favour from an insolent and imperious attendant, to an insinuating and submissive one; and, in fact, the rising in arms of a thousand old English prejudices; drove the Whigs from their ministerial power, at the very time when they deemed themselves the most securely established in it; and exalted the Tories to a condition in which they had opportunity to shew, whether they were, indeed, friendly or hostile to the genuine principles of British freedom. Had Anne not given to the Whigs a confidence, too exclusive and implicit, in the beginning, and during the former progress of her reign; had she not permitted them to prolong the war, after its first objects had been, as far as was possible, attained: it had not been now necessary for her to throw herself wholly into the arms of the Tories, and exasperate into fierce hostility that mutual opposition of the two parties, which time was gradually mitigating. OXFORD, perhaps actuated by mean views of personal interest, perhaps with intelligence more comprehensive, and intentions more generously patriotic, strove to accomplish that reconciliation of the two parties, in which it was to be earnestly wished, that their contentions should, at length, almost wholly terminate. But, the late insolence of the Whigs, and the extravagant exultation of the Tories, defeated his endeavours. While he hesitated and intrigued in vain, the bolder genius of ST. JOHN, accomplished the peace of Utrecht, and snatched the army from the hands of the Whigs. Whenever the circumstances of that treaty have been examined by judges sufficiently bold and impartial, its author has been confessed to have effected, in it, much more for the advantage of the British empire, than might have been supposed possible, amid the embarrassments through which he had to struggle, of party opposition at home, and of unfaithful allies and artful enemies abroad, conspiring to thwart whatever even the greatest force and

promptitude of talents in a British minister should attempt, in order to restore peace to Europe. St. John, and the leading Tories, did their duty: but the Whigs had too little public virtue not to do their utmost to render that a bad peace, of which they were not permitted to be, themselves, the authors. In spite of all that could be done to make it unfortunate, the peace of Utrecht was destined to become the surest political foundation of the rising prosperity of Britain, during the eighteenth century. The declining life of Anne, encouraged the opposition of the Whigs; moved Oxford to renew his endeavours to win their favour; till the higher Tories drove him, with indignation, from the ministry; excited ST. JOHN, and the firmer Tories, to try, whether they could not grasp the reins of government with too sure a hand to be displaced, even by that event which the Whigs expected to make them masters of the whole power of the State. The death of Anne disappointed their wishes, and left them, as it were, bound hands and feet, at the mercy of the Whigs.

The accession of the House of HANOVER, enthroned the Whigs in more than their former power. Power, without revenge, was not enough for their wishes. They drove the Tories from all official employment; accused them of treason against the revolution settlement; and harassed them with calumny and proscription, till they were driven into actual rebellion. But for that imprudent credulity and gratitude, with which GEORGE the First threw himself, at his accession, into the arms of the Whigs, he might have counterbalanced the parties usefully against each other, and might have brought them both to vie in loyalty to his House. Not the ability of the Whigs, but the insincerity, the timidity, the uncertainty in design, of the Jacobites and Tories, frustrated every intrigue and enterprise that was tried to restore the exiled STUARTS. In their resistance to these attempts, the Whigs made the first innovations that were effected in the revolution settlement. By the act, which prolonged from three to seven years, the term of the duration of parliaments, they, not directly indeed, but virtually, diminished the independent power of the crown, while they made the representation of the Commons, by more than one-half, less equal and popular, than it had been before. The victories of MARLBOROUGH,

the peace of Utrecht, and the growing prosperity of the national commerce, still supported the consequence of Britain among the other states and kingdoms of Europe: otherwise the strange treaties and contentions with France, with Spain, with the German Emperor, and with the kingdoms of the North, were now such as must have rendered the influence of Britain, on the system of foreign politics, incomparably feeble and contemptible. A King, whose attachments were chiefly to his foreign subjects and dominions; a Whig aristocracy in the administration, who conceived the perfection of government to consist in the establishment of their own power; a Tory opposition, who saw themselves excluded from power, and exposed to acts of oppression: how could the interests of the nation escape ruin, when these were the depositaries of its political power? Only by the necessary progress of private industry and knowledge, and the continual increase of private wealth by new accumulation. The crown was not brought into contention with the Parliament: Popery was not suffered to supplant the established Protestant religion: the restoration of the Stuarts was rendered still more and more hopeless. But, the rights of the people were, under the pretence of vigilance against conspiracy, continually violated; the King was industriously taught to look upon one-half of his subjects as his enemies; nothing was made the leading object of the government, but the fixing of the whole power of the State, legislative and executive, in the hands of a Whig aristocracy, who should transmit it, as an unalienable inheritance, to their children. The principles of the revolution were forgotten, amidst the pretence of the incessant cares to maintain the revolution settlement. Nor were the Whigs always secure in the possession of that power which they abused; nor was the King constantly satisfied with their administration, and at ease upon the British throne. At one time, George the First is said to have doubted, whether it might not be better for him to abandon that throne forever, and return to tranquillity in his Electorate. At another, weary of the tyranny of the Whigs, and won, too, by secret domestic influence, he was certainly about to dismiss Walpole from his ministerial power, to adopt St. John, the author of the peace of Utrecht, for his chief counsellor, and to govern by such a combination of the Tories with the Whigs as St. John might be able to form. Swift, by some means, not unconscious of the expected change, came to England at the very time when his friend BOLINGBROKE thought

himself sure of being made prime minister. But, the intrigues of Walpole, for a while, the timidity, and at last the death of George the First, prevented this scheme from advancing beyond uncertain intention in the breast of the monarch, and warm, ambitious hopes in the minds of the rival of Walpole and his few confidential friends. Perhaps, some of Bolingbroke's friends, while they were privy to his intrigues, and earnestly wished his elevation, were not innocent of the artifice of at the same time courting Walpole's favour, and making as if they were not hostile to his interests. Walpole, not to be thus deceived, equally caressed, calumniated, and undermined them. A new prince succeeded on the throne. By the favour of his mistress, even in consequence of attentions some of them had received from his Queen, whose influence was more powerful, the Tories again had hopes of insinuating themselves into the administration. It was hoped that personal aversion to Walpole might, at least, excite GEORGE the Second to remove him from his councils; and that Tory ability would be, then, necessarily associated in the government. These expectations were still frustrated by the prudence of Queen CAROLINE, and by the dread of the House of Hanover, lest, in employing the Tories, they might betray themselves into the hands of their enemies. Walpole continually renewed, in the breast of his Sovereign, the alarm of meditated rebellion, and of conspiracy to restore the Stuarts. This alarm held the Tories in continued disgrace and proscription at Court. In their indignation at this treatment, they cherished, much more obstinately, than it was likely that they otherwise would have done, all their ancient prejudices against the Hanoverian succession. But for the excellence of the revolution settlement in its substantial principles; but for the tendency there is in human nature, to bear with patience every thing not intolerably grievous, to which it has been long accustomed: the Tories could hardly have failed of being often provoked, in the course of the two first reigns of the House of Hanover, into insurrection much more formidable, than those puny efforts which were made by the Jacobites, without effective Tory support. Divisions, however, arose among the Whigs themselves. PULTENEY and others, abandoning Walpole, because he thwarted the interests of their ambition, refused not, at length, to co-operate with the Tories against the minister. The Tories, glad to find themselves not disowned as auxiliaries by a Whig opposition in

parliament, earnestly took part with Pulteney and his Whig associates. Bolingbroke, though excluded from parliament, by the intrigues of Walpole, became the marshal and the leading counsellor of the opposition, by which Walpole was to be at last overthrown. His personal advices to its more ostensibly active members; his writings in that once famous, and not yet wholly forgotten series of political papers, the *Craftsman*; the general influence of his friendships and example; with the authority of his high reputation for political wisdom and literary talents; rendered him little less useful as a coadjutor to that opposition, than if he had actually been their efficient and acknowledged leader in either house of parliament. His talents were exercised, especially, in an endeavour to reconcile the principles of the Tories with those of the Whigs, who were enemies to the power of Walpole. From his writings, and the general approbation they obtained, it sufficiently appears, that all the virtuous, the enlightened, and the disinterested, from among both Whigs and Tories, when they sufficiently understood one another, and shunned merely verbal controversy, agreed in attachment to the grand principles, for the sake of which the revolution had been effected, and upon which it was established; that the genuine excellence of these principles had, more than any thing else, preserved the settlement of the revolution from every attempt to subvert it; that, perhaps, the doctrines of the Jacobites, and of the most wildly enthusiastic Tories, did not more strongly contradict those principles on one side, than did, on another, the political practice of the Whigs, by whom the British government had been administered, during the pre-eminence of Walpole; or, rather, ever since the accession of the House of Hanover.

At length, the opposition to Walpole became too powerful for him to withstand. He retired from the administration. But the Tories were disappointed in whatever hopes they had conceived of succeeding to a share in those ministerial offices and authority from which he and his friends were driven. A coalition, between a part of the friends of Walpole, and his Whig adversaries, excluded the Tory party from all participation, as such, in the ministry that was now composed. It was not a permanent one. The Tories renewed their opposition. The Jacobites were excited to renewed rebellion. George the Second, after attempting, in vain, to employ, solely, ministers who would pursue those measures which were agreeable to himself, found, that his system of government was

only to be carried on by men, whose parliamentary interest would enable them rather to dictate to him, than obey him. A Whig party, whose chief principle of combination was the incompatibility, not so much of their principles, as of their interests with those of the Tories, continued, under the auspices of the PELHAMS, to administer the affairs of Britain, almost to the close of the reign of George the Second. There were seceders from that party: but, no second coalition between the Tories and the Whig opposition could be effectually negotiated. Some part of the Tories turned their views to a future reign, and attached themselves to the person and the court of FREDERICK, Prince of Wales; expecting that, with his accession to the throne, all party-distinctions might be suffered to expire in their favour. Others, singly, deserted their party; and, for the sake of official employment and emolument, were content to embody themselves among the reigning Whigs. Both administration and opposition were disjointed, imperfectly cohering bodies. Neither could the one administer the affairs of the government, nor the other oppose that, in parliament, with due energy and combination. The natural progress of industry, and the additions which it necessarily made to the general opulence, averted the ruin of the state. But so far as the general prosperity or misery was dependent on vigorous and able, or unwise and feeble government, misfortune was the unavoidable result from a considerable part of the administration of the Pelhams.

Public opinion, meanwhile, continually acquired new force against political leaders, whose measures had no splendid issue. The distinctions of party began to be forgotten, in a general concern for the national glory; or, rather, for the very existence of the nation. Ministers and the leaders in parliament, were overawed by the indignant clamours of the people, and by the ill fortune which attended all their counsels. WILLIAM PITT, a Whig orator, without overgrown fortune, or powerful parliamentary interest, or personal favour with his Sovereign, or aught but the reputation of eloquence, political ability, and patriotic honesty, was exalted, in compliance with the wishes of the people, to the dignity of efficient first minister. His very adversaries thought themselves obliged, for the sake of the public service which they themselves could not conduct, to lend him their support in parliament. To the Tories, and to the majority of the Whigs, he was, alike, unacceptable; yet, pretending to vie in concern for the general welfare,

they refrained, alike, from embarrassing his ministry. All hearts, all voices, among the humbler part of the nation, were united in his favour. The ability and the success of his measures, justified the general confidence. He seemed to set at naught all the wonted distinctions of party, all but the nobler distinctions of talents, activity, and public virtue. The Tories began to be more than ever reconciled to the revolution-government; since it seemed, that they themselves were no more to be malignantly excluded from the confidence of the government of their country. Jacobitism had, before, received its death's wound. France, though it had been recovering new strength, ever since the peace of Utrecht, though lately triumphant on almost every side, in the war with Britain and her allies, was now, on every side, disgracefully vanquished. The days of ELIZABETH, of CROMWELL, of the EDWARDS, and the HENRYS, seemed to be, on a sudden, renewed. Within the space of two or three years, the national character was completely retrieved from disgrace.

In these circumstances of the empire, and in these mutual dispositions of parties, our PRESENT SOVEREIGN ascended the throne. The Whigs were still the masters in the aristocracy. Yet, the Tories were no longer thrust to a distance from all public employment, and contemptuously oppressed. Parliamentary interest, had been, for a time, compelled to truckle to superior virtue and talents. The crown was not, at this time, absolutely so much as it had some time before been, the mere property of an overbearing aristocratical faction. While the young monarch had not yet very decisively declared, to what party his confidence was to be particularly given, his person, and the first measures were, among all, unboundedly popular. Had he continued to leave the principal authority in the hands of the Whigs, yet without proscribing the Tories, that popularity might have known even no transient diminution. But the ascendancy of some excellent men from among the Tories, at the court of his father, had recommended them to the most confidential influence in the education of this young monarch. That influence had not been abused; and he was therefore disposed, upon his accession to the throne, to employ them, rather than the Whigs, of whom he had less personal knowledge, as his chief ministers. The Earl of BUTE had, in the confidence of his young Sovereign, a pre-eminence over every other counsellor. Bute, certainly a good man, of no mean talents, of a pleasing

personal appearance, and of the most elegant accomplishments, was, however, not free from prejudices and imperfections of character, as well as relations of party and connexions of friendship, which could not but render his best administration little acceptable to the predominant party among the English. He was a SCOTSMAN; and English prejudice could scarcely, as yet, endure to see a native of Scotland, even in a subordinate ministerial situation. He was a Tory; and could it be suffered by the Whigs, that after a sort of proscription for more than five and forty years, the Tories should at last vigorously grasp the reins of the government? He was allied to the exiled family of the Stuarts; and should one related to them become the minister of a Prince of the House of Hanover? No sooner had he begun to dispute the propositions of Mr. Pitt, in the cabinet-council, to promote some changes, in which his private affections and enmities seemed to be interested, to call forth into official employment, or at least under the patronage of royal favour, both Tory merit and Scottish talents, than all the prejudices of the English Whigs, from the highest to the lowest, from one end of the kingdom to the other, rose in arms against him. Popular opinion, never stronger than at this particular moment, deserted Bute, when Pitt deserted the cabinet. In vain did the Scottish minister strive to procure the support of the Newcastle Whigs to a ministry that should be effectively Tory, and guided, at least secretly, by himself, in all its measures. Those Whigs were sufficiently willing to exclude Pitt from office, and to re-instate themselves, by means of Bute and the Tories. But they would not be tools in the hands of Bute, till he should have established himself in the ministerial authority, too firmly to be driven from it by their opposition. They would not resign to the Tories, the first part in the government of their country. They soon attempted to make it impossible for Bute to continue minister. The peace negotiated under his auspices, but by the secondary co-operation, as well of Whigs as of Tories, was, in comparison even with that of Utrecht, far from being advantageous in a due proportion to the advantages Britain had gained in the war. It was arraigned by the outrageous cry of popular opinion, from the press; and, after a short time, also in parliament. The Earl of Bute would not embarrass his young Sovereign by fruitless attempts to serve him. He retired from ostensible power. Before this retreat; at the time when it was made; after it; he

endeavoured, by addressing himself to the private interests and passions of the different parties of the Whigs, to accomplish his purpose of rescuing the crown and the parliament from under that subserviency to them as an aristocracy, for which they struggled. As their party connexions had already triumphed over their patriotism; as, though united against the Tories, they were already divided among themselves; so, it was not now difficult to persuade some of them to forego their party connexions, for the proffered gratification of their personal avarice and ambition. Each leader was willing to believe for himself, that he, at least, would be able to direct the voice of the cabinet, and to suppress that secret influence of Bute, and the Tories, which the party in general supposed was to be overcome only by their acting together in one body. The Duke of Newcastle had already refused to make his parliamentary interest subservient to Tory ambition. GEORGE GRENVILLE, considerable in that small subdivision of the Whigs, which had been accustomed to obey the voice of Pitt, suffered himself to be won from the side of a man, of whom he must always be either the follower or the foe. The least outrageous Whigs consented for a time to follow Grenville, in co-operating with the Tories, and in breaking the strength of their own party. But the whole Whig strength soon combined against him; the Tories were not faithful to him; he found that he had deserted from his friends, for the sake of men who had not ceased to be his enemies. All the rage of popular opinion was roused against him; his administration could no longer subsist; and the King saw himself once more at the mercy of the Whigs. The Marquis of ROCKINGHAM was now in the act of succeeding to be the ostensible leader of that Whig party, which had long co-operated under the Pelhams. On conditions which seemed to secure to them all the powers of government, that Marquis accepted the offices of ministerial responsibility, without exacting that their Sovereign should put himself, as it were, bound and fettered into their hands. They attempted, for about the space of a year, to govern in the spirit of the true principles of the revolution, and in a manner that might tend to re-establish the ancient reign of the Whigs. But their measures were thus adapted to frustrate that coalition of parties which, though neglected ever since the

reign of King William, the present King, and his confidential counsellors, had uniformly striven to promote. They were adverse to the personal interests of those whom he was chiefly inclined to favour; they tended to renew the subjection of the crown to the aristocracy. Rockingham and his party were therefore dismissed, before they could acquire strength to maintain themselves in office, in spite of their Sovereign's wishes. Lord CHATHAM, confident in his own personal talents, accepted that authority of which the great Whig party was thus deprived. He refused not to attempt the formation of a ministry, in which Whigs and Tories should be combined. His great mind was superior to any proscribing principles; and he desired not to reduce his Sovereign into a dependence too abject upon his own ministers. But Chatham soon found, that they, whom he had exalted, would not obey him; that they were of spirits in too great a degree mutually hostile, to be reconciled for the public service; that even his king would not yet treat him with unbounded confidence. He unwillingly relinquished the functions of a minister. The Duke of GRAFTON accepted the reins, but could not hold them. The sequel of the history is not tedious. These changes at length entirely broke the ancient strength of the Whig party, and emancipated the crown from that subjugation under an aristocracy in which it had been too long retained. Under Lord NORTH, the Tories, and a part of the Whigs, were at last permanently combined. The events of the American war, had almost restored the exclusive reign of the Whigs. After a series of doubtful contentions, the mingled Whigs and Tories prevailed; the constitutional authority of the crown was preserved; and an administration, not to be easily shaken, was established, under the auspices of the SON of CHATHAM. Opposition were adopting new principles, remote from genuine and ancient Whiggism, when the example of France gave the alarm to many of the best of them; and a desertion from their ranks ensued, by which the remaining opposition have been rendered, perhaps, weaker than they were, for the interests of the constitution, to be desired.

In this progress of parties, it is to be especially remarked, that the constitution was fixed by the principles of the revolution, in the hasty

fiest state of which it is susceptible, amid the present relations, external and internal, of the British empire ; that, both Whigs and Tories, so far as they were truly virtuous and intelligent, and so far as the entanglements of party, or base interests, did not make them swerve from what they approved, have, almost since the first date of the revolution, evinced a cordial acquiescence in its principles : that it is not, then, for principles, but on account of party and of personal interests, resentments, and affections, the contention between Whig and Tory has been ever since maintained ; that King William, by refusing to give his exclusive confidence to the Whigs, and by combining and counterbalancing the Whigs with the Tories, did much, both to abolish party distinctions, and to maintain the constitutional authority of the Crown ; that, in the reign of Anne, the balance between the two parties was not with equal care maintained, nor was their gradual and hasty coalition so skilfully promoted ; that, from the accession of the House of Hanover, till the commencement of the present reign, the Whigs remained exclusively masters of the administration ; that the true causes of the unpopularity of the first administrations of King George the Third, are to be found in the attempt which, till finally successful, was steadily made, to deliver the Tories from that effective proscription under which they had been so long excluded from the government of their country, and to give them, in proportion to their wealth and numbers, almost an ascendancy in their Sovereign's councils.

Public opinion expressing itself through the press, often in a sort of rivalry to the voice of Parliament, became continually more powerful throughout the whole reign of the Whigs. Its authority was never so great as during these last contests between the Whigs and Tories, since the accession of the present Sovereign to the throne. In the weakness of government, the press, as an engine of public opinion, had become superior to almost all restraint. Through it, between the years 1759 and 1769, all the different parliamentary parties appealed, in turn, to the people ; and never one of them, without more or less of success. Government seemed still infirm ; Parliament was still divided within itself, without being duly respected by the nation ; the old Whig interest had not regained its ancient ascendancy ; the Sovereign appeared still firm in his purpose

of giving his favour and confidence, at least, not less, to the Tories than to the Whigs:—when the AUTHOR of these LETTERS,—evidently true to the genuine principles of the revolution, and not distinguishing the cause of the principles from that of the party which had long thriven by violating, yet pretending an attachment to them, undertook, with superior talents, and with ardour of zeal and licence of invective, certainly not inferior, to achieve even more than had been accomplished by a BOLINGBROKE or a WILKES.

This First Letter opened his plan, in the beginning of the year 1769.

It defines that sort of obedience which the writer conceived to be due from the English nation to their King, or executive government; asserts that, whenever his ministers faithfully discharged their constitutional duties,—the gratitude of the people would rather exceed, than fall short, in the performance of what they owed to the monarch; and confirms this assertion, by alluding to those instances in the English history, in which blind extravagance of loyalty had been much more conspicuous, than a general promptitude to sedition. Having thus fixed the measure of obedience; and artfully insinuated, that Englishmen could never, without the strongest cause, break out into such discontents as were, then, generally prevalent: it further justifies and excites these discontents, by referring their origin to one of the best principles in human nature; ever ready to revolt with indignant sympathy at the sight, or at the very thought, even of oppression the most remote, from any power over our own circumstances; and, by consequence, not to be suppressed, when such oppression immediately menaces our own rights. This is the exordium, in which the epistolary orator skilfully bespeaks the favour of the people; by persuading them that, in opposition to the government, they cannot be in the wrong. He then proposes a sort of national inquest into the demerits of a ministry, whose guilt was fast accomplishing the public ruin; and, at once, takes upon himself, the functions of public accuser; to arraign, and prosecute to conviction, at the bar of general opinion, those ministers, and those measures of government, for the punishment and correction of which he thought it necessary that the nation should proceed, even to the last boldness of constitutional resistance. The accomplishment of this task appears to have been the express and sole design of these Letters,

From the first, it was not a succession of unconnected Letters on casual topics of temporary politics, but a regular and systematic work in the epistolary form, which the author proposed to himself to write. If he shall appear to have continued these Letters, till he either effected the purpose with which he began them, or unavoidably failed in it; we must, then, believe, that he prosecuted the correspondence no farther, because he had completed his work.

If we shall find it not to have been terminated in this manner; we must then suppose there to have been, either less of unity and consistency in the design, or a want of perseverance, or some uncertain interruption in the execution. After thus declaring his general purpose, he, perhaps unnecessarily, and with some violation of propriety, renews and varies his exordium: then, while he seems to attribute to the best and wisest motives, the policy by which the King endeavoured in his court and ministry to join Whigs, he insinuates this policy to have originated, only in the folly of a weak and puerile mind, or the treachery of a wicked one. The remainder of this introductory Letter is filled with sketches more or less finished, but every one incomparably forcible and happy, of the characters of the leading ministers, to whom JUNIUS chose to impute the ruin of the national prosperity, and the most treacherous designs against the constitutional rights of the people. The Duke of Grafton, first Lord of the Treasury; Lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the American department; Lord Weymouth, Secretary for that which was called the Southern department; the Marquis of Granby, Commander in Chief of the Army; Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice in the Court of King's Bench; are the Ministers, on whose incapacity and misconduct, the bold invective in this Letter successively turns. It necessarily involves an account of several of those circumstances which attended the appointment of these ministers to their official employments; and it runs out into some remarks on the general train of those measures, which had been pursued by the government, through all the different administrations which had succeeded one another since the commencement of the present reign.

As a piece of eloquence, this Letter is eminently distinguished by force, by artifice, and by compact regularity of structure. The artifice is discovered in the selection of arguments, characters, and

topics of invective, which were perfectly adapted to the intellects and the prejudices, at once of the higher and the lower classes of those, who were rushing into the fiercest opposition against the government. It is discovered, also, in the introducing of those arguments, characters, and topics of invective, in a manner that seems to be guided, not by rhetorical labour, but by the natural burst of sentiment, and by unavoidable transitions of thought. The force appears, both in the condensation of the thoughts; in the keen certainty, with which each point of invective is made to pierce deep, exactly where it was intended to wound; and in the style, which seems to unite, in the highest possible degree, the plain conciseness of the language of business, with all the best ornaments of that of taste and fancy. The regularity of structure appears, in its consisting of parts composing one whole, and clearly opening one, and only one, design.

21. *January*, 1769.

SIR,

THE submission of a free people to the executive authority of government, is no more than a compliance with laws which they themselves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly main-

While the national honour, &c.] In this period, the author endeavours to specify the proper functions of a good government under the British constitution. Yet, he passes over the most important of these, unnoticed. It is, perhaps, the first constitutional duty of the King, in the present state of political society in Britain, to "watch the new exigencies of civil life, as they arise; and, either in speeches and messages from the throne, or more indirectly, by his official servants, who are at the same time members of one or other of the two houses of the legislature, to *propose* those *new laws* which the progress of industry and knowledge, or the fluctuations of vice and ignorance, incessantly demand." That function was exercised by the monarch, in the purest state of feodism, when he proposed his wants for the general welfare, to his vassals assembled in parliament by his summons. It has been exercised, ever since, with a jealousy and a vigilance, which sufficiently evince how dearly it is valued. At present, though the *initiative power* of British legislation, reside, indeed, *ultimately*, in the clear, decisive voice of public opinion, yet, in its *immediate* operation in parliament, it is almost exclusively exercised by the crown, or its servants, acting for its interests. Others are free to move for leave for the introduction of Bills into either House: but, only those who can be supported by a majority, make such motions with the prospect of success. The servants of the crown must always lead the majorities in both the House of Peers and the House of Commons: otherwise, they would be unfit to transact its necessary parliamentary business; and must, of course, retire from their offices. This *initiative influence* in British legislation, and the duty attached to it, are absolutely inseparable from the idea of the executive power. That power, at every moment, 'as it were, actively pervading and surrounding the whole empire, hence

tained abroad, and while justice is impartially administered at home, the obedience of the subject will be voluntary, cheerful, and I might almost say unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preservation of its rights, and willingly extends the respect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his person. Loyalty, in the heart and understanding of an Englishman, is a rational attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and passion have sometimes carried it to a criminal length; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that Englishmen have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for parti-

possesses advantages for knowing the exigencies of the state, which may render it fitter for the proposing of new laws, than any other branch of the legislature. The individual members of the other branches, and indeed of the whole community, are *nominally* and *legally* free to exercise the same function. But, perhaps, the duty is, in the first instance, incumbent on the crown;—on others, only in consequence of the crown's neglect. Add to this, that with the crown rests, still more formally, though less effectively, the power of rejecting or sanctioning the acts of the two Houses of Parliament, before they can have the full authority of laws.—The general result of this discussion is, that, differently from what JUNIUS here asserts, to render the obedience of the subject voluntary and cheerful, the crown must not only impartially administer justice, and firmly maintain the national honour, but also, vigilantly, wisely, and moderately, exercise its great functions, as a branch of the legislature.

Englishmen have erred as much, &c.] This observation alludes, not exclusively, yet principally, to the attachment of the Tories and Jacobites, to the exiled Stuarts. It seems to represent that attachment as an honourable feature in the national character. One should think, that it might have been more judiciously omitted, by a writer, whose primary object was, to explode the principles attributed to the Tories, and drive their party to a distance from all hopes of power. In invective or in oratorical contest, never suggest aught that may, by

cular persons and families, as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves.

It naturally fills us with resentment, to see such a temper insulted and abused. In reading the history of a free people, whose rights have been invaded, we are interested in their cause. Our own feelings tell us how long they ought to have submitted, and at what moment it would have been treachery to themselves not to have resisted. How much warmer will be our resentment, if experience should bring the fatal example home to ourselves!

The situation of this country is alarming enough to rouse the attention of every man who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. Appearances justify suspicion; and when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is a just ground of inquiry. Let us enter into it with candour and decency. Respect is due to the station of ministers; and, if a resolution must at last be taken, there is none so likely to be supported with firmness, as that which has been adopted with moderation.

secret association, awaken ideas favourable to your adversary. What you grant him, grant openly, directly, and with a shew of eager candour. But, let these concessions, where they are the most candid, secretly tend to insinuate reflections contrary to their exterior meaning.

Adopted with moderation—which alone can make a whole people desperate.] Of the two phrases here quoted, one ends the third, the other the fourth paragraph, in the progress of this Letter.

The ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of its government, that, to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry, we need only observe the condition of the people. If we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home, and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume, that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities and virtue. If, on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the government of that country is weak, distracted, and corrupt. The multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point. Ill usage may rouse their indignation, and hurry them into excesses; but the original fault is in government. Perhaps there never was an instance of a change, in the circumstances and temper of a whole nation, so sudden and extraordinary as that which the misconduct of ministers has, within these few years, pro-

The reader, who shall attentively peruse these paragraphs, will find, that the exordium properly terminates at the close of the third; but that the author returns, in the fourth, into a new exordium, repeating, with some variations and additions indeed, the substance of the former one. This is an imperfection of great advantage in an oratorical composition like the present. Never flounder backward and forward in entering upon a subject. Slide into it easily, artfully, above all, clearly, and without wavering hesitation or confusion. Yet, with this fault, these introductory sentences are eminently happy. Human excellence consists, not in freedom from faults, but in the possession of splendid merits; for the sake of which, faults may well be pardoned.

duced in Great Britain. When our gracious sovereign ascended the throne, we were a flourishing and contented people. If the personal virtues of a King could have insured the happiness of his subjects, the scene could not have altered so entirely as it has done. The idea of uniting all parties, of trying all characters, and distributing the offices of state by rotation, was gracious and benevolent to an extreme, though it has not yet produced the many salutary effects which were intended by it. To say nothing of the wisdom of such a plan, it undoubtedly arose from an unbounded goodness of heart, in which folly had no share. It was not a capricious partiality to new faces;—it was not a natural turn for low intrigue; nor was it the treacherous amusement of double and triple negotiations. No, Sir, it arose from a continued anxiety, in the purest of all possible hearts, for the general welfare. Unfortunately for us, the event has not been answerable to the design. After a rapid succession

The idea of uniting all parties, &c.] As a specimen of that profound artifice of invective, of which none are capable, but minds that think at once deeply and passionately, the passage comprehended in this and the three following periods has never been excelled. Its artifice consists, in suggesting in negation what might not be affirmed, yet was wished to be believed, and in heightening the effect of whatever is contemptuous in the suggestion, by opposing to it, in ironical affirmation, those excellencies of intelligence and sentiment which, if wanting, ought, however, to have been possessed. It is admirable, no less, for the happy and energetic condensation of meaning which it displays. Each line seems equal to volumes. There is, perhaps, more of force in these four periods, than in the long and celebrated Letter to the King, which follows in the subsequent course of the work.

of changes, we are reduced to that state, which hardly any change can mend. Yet there is no extremity of distress, which of itself ought to reduce a great nation to despair. It is not the disorder, but the physician;—it is not a casual concurrence of calamitous circumstances, it is the pernicious hand of government, which alone can make a whole people desperate.

Without much political sagacity, or any extraordinary depth of observation, we need only mark how the principal departments of the state are bestowed, and look no farther for the true cause of every mischief that befalls us.

We need only remark how the principal departments of the state are bestowed, &c.] These words, *departments are bestowed*, exhibit, though not an exceedingly gross incongruity of metaphor, yet certainly an unclassical mode of expression, more worthy of the slang of a newspaper-paragraph-writer, or the colloquial barbarisms of some five-hours-speech-maker, than of the immortal pages of JUNIUS. A *department* is *filled*, *occupied*, *presided over*, &c. An *office* may be bestowed.

But it is not phraseology that is here the most worthy of animadversion. JUNIUS, in this period, repeats a vulgar error, which neither common sense nor philosophy has hitherto been able to explode;—*That the influence of government is the sole or principal cause of national good or evil.* This error was generally taught among the philosophers, politicians, and moralists of antiquity; it has been earnestly revived in modern times. It has found patrons among absolute princes, proud of the high authority with which they supposed themselves invested; among the members of free states, exulting in their liberty; among political innovators, pretending, that to improve the forms of government, is to confer the most signal of all benefits upon mankind. But, in truth, legislation and government constitute but one, out of a number of causes, which regulate the characters, and the social happiness, of men living together in civil life.

The * finances of a nation, sinking under its debts and expenses, are committed to a young nobleman

Education, customs, and manners, the state of religion, the degree of the perfection and the diffusion of knowledge in a community, with a multitude of other circumstances, which I shall not here enumerate, have each an influence, not less considerable than that of mere laws and government, upon the virtue and the happiness of every people. Government is vigorous, effective, and beneficial, or otherwise, in proportion as it is more or less justly accommodated to favour the benign agency of those other circumstances. It cannot be good, except so far as it co-operates with them; it cannot long be bad, for it must soon become inefficient, if it strive to act in opposition to them. The Romans could no longer resume the simplicity, liberty, and virtue of the ancient republic, after the change of their manners had subjected them to the despotism of the Cæsars. We have seen a reform attempted in France, which has been unsuccessful, chiefly, because it was tried, upon the belief that legislation and government might alone do every thing. Reform was never, in any age nor in any country successful, unless when it followed, did not outrun, the necessary change of manners and of public opinion. The stability of the present government of Britain, is owing to its perfect harmony with our manners, industry, virtue, and general knowledge.

* The Duke of Grafton took the office of Secretary of State, with an engagement to support the Marquis of Rockingham's administration. He resigned however in a little time, under pretence that he could not act without Lord Chatham, nor bear to see Mr. Wilkes abandoned; but that under Lord Chatham, he would act in any office. This was the signal of Lord Rockingham's dismissal. When Lord Chatham came in, the Duke got possession of the Treasury. Reader, mark the consequence!

The finances of a nation, &c.] The word *finances*, originally French, and introduced into the English language without necessity, among numberless other barbarisms of office, seems, however, to be now at last legitimated. Yet those who cultivate delicate propriety of style, would do well to be sparing in the use of it.

A young nobleman already ruined by play.] The Duke of Grafton was, at this time, First Lord of the Treasury. There is great oratorical art in the manner in which JUNIUS connects the

already ruined by play. Introduced to act under the auspices of Lord Chatham, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became minister by accident; but deserting the principles and professions which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honourable engagement to the public, an apostate by design. As for business, the world yet knows nothing of his talents or resolution; unless a wayward, wavering inconsistency, be a mark of genius, and caprice a demonstration of spirit. It may be said, perhaps, that it is his Grace's province, as surely it is his passion, rather to distribute than to save the public money; and that, while Lord North is Chancellor of the Exchequer, the first Lord of the Treasury may be as thoughtless and extravagant as he pleases. I hope, however, he will not rely too much

mention of this nobleman's losses at the gaming-table, with that of his having the keeping of the public purse. He that squanders his own money, will rarely be frugal of that of others. He, whose profusion has impoverished him, is under more temptations than others, to embezzle money with which he may be officially entrusted. JUNIUS, therefore, by this artifice of eloquence, insinuates that the Duke had been blindly chosen to the office which he held, and was incapable to fill it with ability or integrity. The animadversions of JUNIUS, on the character of this nobleman, were to a high degree unjust. But he returns often upon this theme; and I shall, hereafter, take occasion to do justice to one, to whom both learning and his country owe, assuredly, no mean obligations.

I hope, however, he will not rely too much on the fertility of Lord North's genius for finance.] Lord North was, undoubtedly, not a man of those high, overpowering talents, or of that comprehension and accuracy of knowledge, which are necessary to form the character of the great statesman. Yet, with talents and knowledge far from despicable, he united an amenity of manners, and a pliancy of

on the fertility of Lord North's genius for finance. His lordship is yet to give us the first proof of his abilities: It may be candid to suppose, that he has hitherto voluntarily concealed his talents; intending, perhaps, to astonish the world when we least expect it, with a knowledge of trade, a choice of expedients, and a depth of resources, equal to the necessities, and far beyond the hopes of his country. He must now exert the whole power of his capacity, if he would wish us to forget, that, since he has been in office, no plan has been formed, no system adhered to, nor any one important measure adopted for the relief of public credit. If his plan for the service of the current year be not irrecoverably fixed on, let me warn him to think seriously of consequences before he ventures to increase the public debt. Outraged and oppressed as we are, this nation will not bear, after a six years peace, to see new millions borrowed, without an eventual diminution of debt, or reduction of interest. The attempt might rouse a spirit of resentment, which

spirit, which are very convenient qualities in the ostensible first servant of a government, or the leader of a party. We often yield to persons whose talents and pretensions are too moderate for our envy, that which we would obstinately deny to him who should strive only to make us shrink into nothing, before the awful superiority of his powers. Lord North was soon after to rise to greater eminence of official power; and there was, perhaps, no man fitter to accomplish the gradual combinations of a party, sufficiently strong and united to combat the attacks, equally, of the turbulent part of the people, and of the great Whig aristocracy.

Outraged.] This is a participle from a noun, violently forced to act the part of a verb. Its use is not very compatible with genuine purity and correctness of writing. It is sometimes, however, highly energetic and expressive.

might reach beyond the sacrifice of a minister. As to the debt upon the civil list, the people of England expect that it will not be paid without a strict inquiry how it was incurred. If it must be paid by parliament, let me advise the chancellor of the Exchequer to think of some better expedient than a lottery. To support an expensive war, or in circumstances of absolute necessity, a lottery may perhaps be allowable; but, besides that it is at all times the very worst way of raising money upon the people, I think it ill becomes the royal dignity to have the debts of a king provided for, like the repairs of a country bridge, or a decayed hospital. The management of the king's affairs in the House of Commons cannot be more disgraced than it has been. A* leading minister repeatedly called down for absolute ignorance;—ridiculous motions ridiculously withdrawn;—deliberate plans disconcerted, and a week's preparation of graceful oratory lost in a moment, give us some, though not adequate idea of Lord North's parliamentary abilities and influence. Yet, before he had the misfortune of being Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was neither an object of derision to his enemies, nor of melancholy pity to his friends.

A series of inconsistent measures has alienated the colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their

* This happened frequently to poor Lord North.

A series of inconsistent measures, &c.] The dissensions with the American Provinces, began soon after the termination of that war by which they were rescued from the incroachments of the French. Their importance had been evinced in it; their defence had cost

natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable and at the same time of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade, and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire, which had benefited most by the expenses of the war, should contribute something to the expenses of the peace; and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in parliament to raise the contribution. But, unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed, because he was minister; and Mr. Pitt* and Lord Camden were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the colonies; and while, perhaps, they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided the one half of the empire from the other.

the British nation dear. It appeared, that they might afford a revenue for British, not American uses. It was judged reasonable, that they should. It was thought that, to prevent their rising to a strength in which they might scorn compliance, the demand could not be too quickly made. Compliance was disagreeable: yet had not the administration been feeble, fluctuating, and uncertain in counsel, it could not have been pertinaciously refused. This was the measure of the crown. The great Whig faction opposed it. America kindled into bolder resistance. A war and a disruption of the colonies from the mother country were to ensue. The progress and the consequences of these great events, will hereafter return under our notice.

* Yet JUNIUS has been called the partisan of Lord Chatham,

Under one administration the stamp-act is made; under the second it is repealed; under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances a new office is established for the business of the plantations, and the Earl of Hillsborough called forth, at a most critical season, to govern America. The choice at least announced to us a man of superior capacity and knowledge. Whether he be so or not, let his dispatches, as far as they have appeared, let his measures, as far as they have operated, determine for him. In the former, we have seen strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censure without dignity or moderation; but neither correctness in the composition, nor judgment in the design. As for his measures, let it be remembered, that he was called upon to conciliate and unite; and that, when he entered into office, the most refractory of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of

The Earl of Hillsborough called forth, &c.] This nobleman, certainly a man of talents and honour, after a long period of retirement from office, during which he was raised to the dignity of Marquis of Downshire, has lately taken a bold and decisive, but unsuccessful step, in opposing the imperial and legislative union of Ireland with Great Britain, which is now almost finally accomplished. Great force and dexterity of accusation, are certainly displayed in what is here said of Lord Hillsborough. But, it is to be remarked, that the whole accusations amount only to a charge of incorrectness in the language of the official dispatches, and vigour in the measures which were at last employed to enforce obedience.

petition and remonstrance. Since that period they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne; and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies rested upon an arbitrary condition*, which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general question, if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may call it so unconstitutional, an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, gives us as humble an opinion of his lordship's capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may perhaps be spared to support the earl of Hillsborough's measures in America. Whenever that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismissal of such a minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, and, supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation.

Drawing lots would be a prudent and reasonable method of appointing the officers of state, compared to a late disposition of the secretary's office. Lord Rochford was acquainted with the affairs and temper

* That they should retract one of their resolutions, and erase the entry of it.

of the southern courts; Lord Weymouth was equally qualified for either department*. By what unaccountable caprice has it happened, that the latter, who pretends to no experience whatsoever, is removed to the most important of the two departments, and the former, by preference, placed in an office where his experience can be of no use to him? Lord Weymouth had distinguished himself in his first employment by a spirited, if not judicious, conduct. He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army

* It was pretended, that the Earl of Rochford, while ambassador in France, had quarrelled with the Duke of Choiseuil; and that therefore he was appointed to the Northern department, out of compliment to the French minister.

He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, &c.] The efforts of the Whigs, in opposition to the system of government which they saw begin with the new reign, were directed to excite popular odium against every favourite man and measure. Mr. Wilkes, contending outrageously in this cause, provoked government to an attempt to suppress his voice, and punish his turbulence. Measures of doubtful legality were hastily resorted to, for that purpose. A vigorous and well-supported administration would scarcely, however, have been harassed on account of them. But popular clamour was more or less secretly excited and supported, by the whole formidable strength of the Whigs. Whenever the mob are thus encouraged, their efforts become terrible: first, to their adversaries; and, at last, to their own most considerable friends. The clamours of public opinion, and the riots of the populace, became continually more formidable. For a while, ministry dared not to suppress them with vigour, for fear of the accusation of military tyranny. The populace became every day more insolent. On every slight occasion, mobs rioted throughout London and Westminster. Their insolence was encouraged by too many of the leading and substantial citizens. Even the avenues to the court were occasionally beset; and the threshold of the monarch himself seemed scarcely safe. The

to more than military execution. Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the distraction of play, and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy, behold him exerting the whole strength of his clear, unclouded faculties, in the service of the crown. It was not the heat of midnight excesses, nor ignorance of the laws, nor furious spirit of the house of Bedford: No, Sir, when this respectable minister interposed his authority between the magistrate and the people, and signed the mandate, on which, for aught he knew, the lives of thousands depended, he did it from the deliberate motion of his heart, supported by the best of his judgment.

It has lately been a fashion to pay a compliment to the bravery and generosity of the commander in

authority of the civil magistrates was overpowered, laughed at, wantonly insulted. In this state of the public peace, it was, at last, thought necessary to call upon the civil magistrates to do their duty more vigorously; and to proffer the ready assistance of the soldiery, whenever tumultuous riots might not easily be otherwise suppressed. Lord Weymouth, now Marquis of Bath, was the minister of this communication to the magistrates. Perhaps it was not expressed with that air of a tenderness for the lives even of unworthy subjects, which every prudent and beneficent government ought always to preserve. It was substantially right; in manner, perhaps, somewhat wrong. It excited much clamour of tyranny. Yet, government having once assumed this tone of vigour, continued to maintain it, till the tranquillity of the capital was, at last, effectually re-established.

Bravery and generosity of the commander in chief, &c.] The attack on the character of the Marquis of Granby, is inspired with all the artful vehemence of personal and political hatred. But he was one of the most popular of all the members of the administra-

chief* at the expense of his understanding. They who love him least make no question of his courage, while his friends dwell chiefly on the facility of his disposition. Admitting him to be as brave as a total absence of all feeling and reflection can make him, let us see what sort of merit he derives from the remainder of his character. If it be generosity to accumulate in his own person and family a number of lucrative employments; to provide, at the public expense, for every creature that bears the name of Manners; and, neglecting the merit and services of the rest of the army, to heap promotions upon his favourites and dependents; the present commander in chief is the most generous man alive. Nature has been sparing of her gifts to this noble lord; but, where birth and fortune are united, we expect the noble pride and independence of a man of spirit, not the servile, humiliating complaisance of a courtier. As to the goodness of his heart, if a proof of it be taken from the facility of never refusing, what conclusion shall we draw from the indecency of never performing? And if the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks are due to a man, whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of commander in chief into a broker of commissions?

tion; and, since it was the object of JUNIUS to overthrow the ministry, he thought it necessary to use peculiar pains, to blast the popularity of those of them of whom public opinion was inclined to judge the least unfavourably.

* The late Lord Granby,

With respect to the navy, I shall only say, that this country is so highly indebted to Sir Edward Hawke, that no expense should be spared to secure to him an honourable and affluent retreat.

The pure and impartial administration of justice is perhaps the firmest bond to secure a cheerful submission of the people, and to engage their affections to government. It is not sufficient that questions of private right or wrong are justly decided, nor that judges are superior to the vileness of pecuniary corruption. Jefferies himself, when the court had no interest, was an upright judge. A court of justice may be subject to another sort of bias, more important and pernicious, as it reaches beyond the interest of individuals, and affects the whole community. A judge under the influence of government, may be honest enough in the decision of private causes, yet a traitor to the public.

Sir Edward Hawke.] His naval successes, the most splendid in the train of the late war, had given him a hold on the public favour, which even Junius would not attempt to destroy.

The pure and impartial administration of justice, &c.] The character of Lord MANSFIELD was deservedly high. His arguments and decisions as a judge, were not less admired than had been his eloquence as a pleader at the bar. But, he was a Scotsman: he was the friend of Lord BUTE: he was perhaps the chief adviser, in secret, of those measures which had been systematically pursued since the commencement of the present reign: he was inclined, in doing his duty on the bench of justice, to favour the crown in all contests between the crown and its subjects, so far as the law could possibly be made to allow: he was disposed continually to exalt the judicial authority of the bench to new superiority over that of the jury: he would sometimes speak of the reason and science of the Roman law, as greatly preferable to the technical barbarity of the English.—*Hinc ista ira!*

When a victim is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity, and betray the sanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for government, or the resentment of a court to be gratified.

These principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they are, in effect are no less injudicious. A wise and generous people are roused by every appearance of oppressive, unconstitutional measures, whether those measures are supported only by the power of government, or masked under the forms of a court of justice. Prudence and self-preservation will oblige the most moderate dispositions to make common cause, even with a man whose conduct they censure, if they see him persecuted in a way which the real spirit of the laws will not justify. The facts, on which these remarks are founded, are too notorious to require an application.

These principles and proceedings, &c.] The author here draws his general conclusion; insinuating, that the view he had presented of ministerial measures, principles, and personal characters, was sufficient to justify the people in having recourse almost to the last and most violent efforts of constitutional resistance. This, however, he would have them to do, only in *making common cause with a man whose conduct they censure*. This man was JOHN WILKES. To procure the decisive support of Wilkes, as necessary to the restoration of the Whigs, to the maintenance of revolution principles, to the support of the authority of public opinion, was a leading object in the secret design of the Author of these Letters. For this end, he purposed to *write down the ministry* which he here attacks, as Mr. Wilkes had threatened to write down former administrations.

This, Sir, is the detail. In one view, behold a nation overwhelmed with debt; her revenues wasted; her trade declining; the affections of her colonies alienated; the duty of the magistrate transferred to the soldiery; a gallant army, which never fought unwillingly but against their fellow-subjects, mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit; and, in the last instance, the administration of justice become odious and suspected to the whole body of the people. This deplorable scene admits of but one addition—that we are governed by counsels, from which a reasonable man can expect no remedy but poison, no relief but death,

If, by the immediate interposition of Providence, it were possible for us to escape a crisis so full of terror and despair, posterity will not believe the history of the present times. They will either conclude that our distresses were imaginary, or that we had the good fortune to be governed by men of acknowledged integrity and wisdom: they will not believe it possible

No remedy but poison, &c.] At a first reading, we might regard this and some other similar figures, as merely useless and extravagant rant. But, more careful consideration will induce us to forego this opinion. It is the master-art of these LETTERS OF JUNIUS, that they are addressed equally, on the one hand, to the taste, reason, and spirit of intrigue, of the *great*; and, on the other, to the prejudices, and the fierce abusive spirit, of the *vulgar*. For the sake of the latter, some slight occasional sacrifices were to be made by taste. Of these, the present extravagant figure is one. It seems just a sally of genius and dignity of mind, descending as far as it is possible for them to descend, to the coarseness of vulgar abuse. Never was coarseness better reconciled with dignity than in these Letters.

that their ancestors could have survived, or recovered from so desperate a condition, while a Duke of Grafton was Prime Minister, a Lord North Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Weymouth and a Hillsborough Secretaries of State, a Granby Commander in Chief, and a Mansfield Chief Criminal Judge of the kingdom.

JUNIUS.

LETTER II.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

THE eloquence, the discernment, the profound knowledge of principles, displayed in the preceding Letter, an acquaintance with facts bespeaking access almost to the secret springs of ministerial and courtly information, the incomparable dignity and the malignant force of its invective, with the magnitude of the object at which it was plainly perceived to aim, instantly engaged, in an extraordinary degree, the general attention of all classes of the public. It was the principal new topic of conversation in every circle of the great, in which fashion, politics, and literature, were wont to associate. By men of literature, acquainted with the best models of composition, and practised in imitating them, it was read with astonishment, as a piece unequalled by Swift, by Bolingbroke, by Shebbeare, or by Wilkes. Even the poetical writers of political satire, Dryden, Pope, Hanbury Williams, and Churchill even in his *Prophecy of Famine*, had, as it seemed, less of vehement resentment, and of splendid fancy. Above all, the whole public remarked in it, a sort of native loftiness of thought and speech, somewhat as if it were a prophet returning with the conscious authority of inspiration, or some indignant angel descending from Heaven, to make political weakness and profligacy shrink into themselves, that the ruin of Britain might yet be averted. The lowest class of readers, so far as they could understand the language of this Letter, found that it gave a sanction and a new dignity, to their own prejudices and errors; and, for what they could not understand, admired it just so much the more. The names of the ministers mentioned in the Letter of JUNIUS were, at once, believed to be all, most surely consigned to eternal infamy. Not only eloquence, and profound thinking, but a political sagacity that could be the fruit of experience alone, was earnestly remarked in this Letter. A leader appeared to have suddenly arisen, whose voice public opinion could not chuse but to obey. All wondered who might be the real author; and many vain surmises were on this head thrown out.

The Marquis of GRANBY was attacked with a bitter malignity, that, if any thing could, must have excited public indignation against the author of the attack. His military friends were enraged, that the secrecy of a fictitious name should conceal that author from their vengeance. Lord GEORGE GERMAINE, not undeservedly disgraced for not having eagerly done his duty in the battle of Minden, was supposed to be the only man, at least the only military man, who could write so well, and could have secret motives for writing so bitterly against Lord Granby. Sir WILLIAM DRAPER was ambitious to shew, that the commander in chief had a military friend, who could defend his political reputation with greater gallantry than this terrible secret enemy, and at least with equal eloquence.

Sir William Draper was not a mere soldier: he had received an excellent education; and had been, for a considerable time, a residing member of an university. Military ardour, and an occurrence of circumstances favourable to his promotion in the army, carried him away from the literary pursuits in which his earlier life had been engaged. He was distinguished among the English officers who served on the continent in the war of 1756. His fortune afterwards conducted him to the east. Every where was his conduct a fair example of the union of the best qualities of the soldier, the scholar, and the gentleman. To crown the success of the British arms in the east, there remained, at the time when Spain interposed in the war, scarcely any great enterprize to be tried, unless it were an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the Philippine Isles. Colonel Draper, with great promptitude and judgment, formed a plan for such an enterprize, of which the execution was immediately determined upon. A military and a naval force, under his command and that of Admiral Cornish, was sent out from India, to attack the capital of the Philipines. At sea, on land, their courage, skill, and activity, triumphed over every obstacle, that the obstinate though injudicious bravery of the Spaniards presented, to oppose their success. Even when it was no longer possible to defend their capital, the Spaniards chose rather to suffer the English to enter it by assault, than to capitulate with their heretic foes. When it was too late for negotiation or resistance, the generosity of the conquerors suffered the vanquished, notwithstanding their

first obstinacy, to ransom their captured town from pillage and conflagration. The ransom could be paid only in bills upon the Spanish merchants and government in Europe. With these bills, and with the spoils they had taken before accepting them, the surviving conquerors returned to India and to Britain. It was not doubted, but the Court of Spain would rejoice that, after capture, the capital of the Philipphines had been spared for so light a fine; nor, that ancient Spanish honour, so much esteemed in England, would gladly pay the stipulated ransom. But the event proved different. The Spaniards, after peace had been concluded, could not fear that Britain would, for the sake of the Manilla ransom, renew the war. They refused the payment; the bills were protested; and General Drafter, and Admiral Cornish, were left to solicit the British ministry with long and fruitless assiduity, to procure from Spain that justice which was due to themselves, and the soldiers and sailors, the companions of their perils and their victory. But General Drafter was honoured with the approbation of his country; from his king, obtained the ribbon of the Order of the Bath, with other advantages, of which JUNIUS sufficiently speaks; and, having returned from the east, not without considerable acquisitions of fortune, was enabled to retire to the respectable enjoyment of ease and dignity, at Clifton, near Bath, where he possessed an elegant house and gardens: or, occasionally, among his friends of taste, rank, and fashion, in London. In his garden at Clifton, he erected a cenotaph, with a fine inscription, written by himself, sacred to the memory of his old military comrades, the officers and soldiers of the sixty-ninth regiment, in company with whom he had often fought, and who had fallen in the east. On several occasions, his ability as a writer was made known to the public; always with advantage. He had a vanity in shewing, that he was no less an elegant scholar, than a gallant and skilful soldier. There was a mixture of literary ambition, soldierly frankness, and ardent friendship, in his eager interposition, in the following Letter, to defend the Marquis of Granby against the bold imputations of JUNIUS. So far as literary fame might be his object, he has not been disappointed. He is generally confessed to have been an adversary not unworthy of him to whom he opposed himself.

In his Letter, which he seems to have sitten down, in a great passion to write, Sir William exphatiates, first, on the mischief of libellous attacks on the characters of great men ; and, with no small felicity of phrase, names the neglect to vindicate worth thus libelled—a sort of misprision of treason against society. He describes the character of Lord Granby, from personal knowledge, as exhibiting a noble assemblage of all the military virtues ; brave, untainted with any meanness of sentiment, loyal, to want and distress even prodigally bountiful, a stranger to vanity, though more than almost any one else alive to the sense of true glory. He affirms, this nobleman never, in his office of commander in chief, to have bestowed commissions otherwise than upon men whose condition would give them a natural interest to defend their country, without making themselves instruments for the suppression of its liberties. He relates, that the Marquis employed, at least, as much care upon the general state of the army, as was necessary to preserve its spirit and discipline. And he denies, that any commissions were improperly disposed of, from the selfish anxiety of the commander in chief, to provide, exclusively, for his own relations and dependents. Concluding himself to have thus sufficiently vindicated his friend from every aspersion JUNIUS had thrown out against him ; he closes his Letter with calling on that writer to ask Lord Granby's pardon, and with quoting a few of his own words against himself.

26. January, 1769.

SIR,

THE kingdom swarms with such numbers of felonious robbers of private character and virtue, that no honest or good man is safe ; especially as these cowardly, base assassins stab in the dark, without having the courage to sign their real names to their malevolent and wicked productions. A writer, who signs himself JUNIUS, in the Public Advertiser of

the 21st instant, opens the deplorable situation of his country in a very affecting manner: with a pompous parade of his candour and decency, he tells us, that we see dissensions in all parts of the empire, an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, and a total loss of respect towards us in the eyes of foreign powers. But this writer, with all his boasted candour, has not told us the real cause of the evils he so pathetically enumerates. I shall take the liberty to explain the cause for him. JUNIUS, and such writers as himself, occasion all the mischief complained of, by falsely and maliciously traducing the best characters in the kingdom. For, when our deluded people at home, and foreigners abroad, read the poisonous

JUNIUS, and such writers as himself, occasion all the mischief, &c.] This is the wild outcry of passion blind to all true discernment. Yet, even in this error, there was a mixture of truth. The *first* cause of the weakness of the government; and the discontents of the people, existed, in the inability of the old Whig party, the followers of the Pelhams, to maintain themselves in office, exercising a vigorous, popular government, and in their strength, which they, however, still retained, to disturb any rivals who should endeavour to supplant them in the administration. The *second* existed in that progress of events, and in those particular counsels, which had made the resolution to govern by an union of Whigs with Tories, in which the latter should if possible predominate, a fixed principle of the present reign. The *third* arose from its being not a man of lofty disinterestedness, of sublime, overawing, political talents, and of splendid good fortune in his ministry, such as Lord Chatham, but the meaner mind, the more selfish spirit, the more luckless fortune, of Lord Bute, that was chosen to accomplish this great change in the plan of the British government. The *fourth* had its existence, no doubt, in the agency which operated on public opinion, through the press, and in the various enunciations of that opinion, thus influenced, which were con-

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Marquis of Granby

and inflammatory libels that are daily published with impunity, to vilify those who are any way distinguished by their good qualities and eminent virtues; when they find no notice taken of, or reply given to, these slanderous tongues and pens, their conclusion is, that both the ministers and the nation have been fairly described; and they act accordingly. I think it therefore the duty of every good citizen to stand forth, and endeavour to undeceive the public, when the vilest arts are made use of to defame and blacken the brightest characters among us. An eminent author affirms it to be almost as criminal to hear a worthy man traduced, without attempting his justification, as to be the author of the calumny against him. For my own part, I think it a sort of misprision of treason against society. No man, therefore, who knows Lord Granby, can possibly hear so good and great a character most vilely abused, without a warm and just indignation against this JUNIUS, this high-priest of

vayed to the world by the same channel. But, had only the populace and low traders in political scribbling, at this time, spoken through the press; the effect could not have been very important. It was because the great political leaders, both directly and indirectly, interested themselves to contend, as well through the press, as in Parliament, and found the former the shorter passage to the ear of the people, that political writing acquired, at this time, so much power to do, whether good or evil.

JUNIUS, *this high priest of envy*, &c.] Here is a figure, the use of which bespeaks the academic. It is correct, expressive, not unsuitably applied. But it is borrowed from the Scriptures, with a formality and labour, which shew that the writer, in using it, forgot his argument, for the sake of an ornament, derived not from invention, but from mere memory. Nor was he the first to use it in this

envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, who has endeavoured to sacrifice our beloved commander in chief at the altars of his horrid deities. Nor is the injury done to his lordship alone, but to the whole nation, which may too soon feel the contempt, and consequently the attacks, of our late enemies, if they can be induced to believe that the person, on whom the safety of these kingdoms so much depends, is unequal to his high station, and destitute of those qualities which form a good general. One would have thought that his lordship's service in the cause of his country, from the battle of Culloden to his most glorious conclusion of the late war, might have entitled him to common respect and decency at least; but this uncandid, indecent writer, has gone so far as to turn one of the most amiable men of the age into a stupid, unfeeling, and senseless being; possessed, indeed, of a personal courage, but void of those essential qualities which distinguish the commander from the common soldier.

A very long, uninterrupted, impartial, I will add, a most disinterested friendship with Lord Granby, gives

manner. It had been so employed an hundred times before, by divines in their sermons, and by school-boys in their themes. Its use in this place is, to interrupt the free course of thought and reasoning; while the author seems to say, in it,—“Mark, gentle reader, how well I have read my Bible, and my History of the Heathen Gods; with what skill I can borrow a figure, how aptly introduce, how distinctly and correctly display it!”

A very long, uninterrupted, &c.] This character of Lord Granby is, undeniably, well drawn, even with a pencil scarcely less happy,

me the right to affirm, that all JUNIUS's assertions are false and scandalous. Lord Granby's courage, though of the brightest and most ardent kind, is among the lowest of his numerous good qualities; he was formed to excel in war, by nature's liberality to his mind as well as person. Educated and instructed by his most noble father, and a most spirited as well as excellent scholar, the present Bishop of Bangor, he was trained to the nicest sense of honour, and to the truest and noblest sort of pride, that of never doing or suffering a mean action. A sincere love and attachment to his king and country, and to their glory, first impelled him to the field, where he never gained aught but honour. He impaired, through his bounty, his own fortune; for his bounty, which this writer would in vain depreciate, is founded upon the noblest of the human affections, it flows from a heart melting to goodness from the most refined humanity. Can a man, who is described as unfeeling, and void of reflection, be constantly employed in seeking proper objects on whom to exercise those glorious virtues of compassion and generosity? The distressed officer, the soldier, the widow, the orphan, and a long list besides, know that vanity has no share in his frequent donations; he gives, because he feels their distresses. Nor has he ever been rapacious with one hand, to be bountiful with the

than that of JUNIUS himself appears in those few instances in which JUNIUS has tried panegyric. In one or two places, however, Sir WILLIAM DRAPER has used expressions, of which the shrewd penetration of JUNIUS was ready to take advantage against him; as the reader will perceive, on comparing this Letter with the following one.

other; yet this uncandid JUNIUS would insinuate, that the dignity of the commander in chief is depraved into the base office of a commission-broker; that is, Lord Granby bargains for the sale of commissions; for it must have this meaning, if it has any at all. But where is the man living, who can justly charge his lordship with such mean practices? Why does not JUNIUS produce him? JUNIUS knows that he has no other means of wounding this hero, than from some missile weapon, shot from an obscure corner: He seeks, as all such defamatory writers do,

———*spargere voces*
In Vulgum ambiguas———

to raise a suspicion in the minds of the people. But I hope that my countrymen will be no longer imposed upon by artful and designing men, or by wretches, who, bankrupts in business, in fame, and in fortune, mean nothing more than to involve this country in the same common ruin with themselves. Hence it is, that they are constantly aiming their dark and too often fatal weapons against those who stand forth as the bulwark of our national safety. Lord Granby was too conspi-

Yet this uncandid JUNIUS, &c.] From these words, to the end of the paragraph, the defence is of that awkward sort, which betrays what it undertakes to defend. Sir WILLIAM ought, in the utmost possible brevity of words, and with a tone of indignation scorning all speech on such a subject, to have rejected the ideas of Lord Granby's bargaining about commissions, and of his selfishly filling the army with his own relations, as if it were impossible for any man of honour to think of such a thing, even in accusation against another. His talking feebly, and with apparent labour, about the matter, could not but add, in fact, new weight to the charge which JUNIUS had made.

uous a mark not to be their object. He is next attacked for being unfaithful to his promises and engagements: where are JUNIUS's proofs? Although I could give some instances, where a breach of promise would be a virtue, especially in the case of those who would pervert the open, unsuspecting moments of convivial mirth, into sly, insidious applications for preferment, or party-systems, and would endeavour to surprise a good man, who cannot bear to see any one leave him dissatisfied, into unguarded promises. Lord Granby's attention to his own family and relations is called selfish. Had he not attended to them, when fair and just opportunities presented themselves, I should have thought him unfeeling, and void of reflection indeed. How are any man's friends or relations to be provided for, but from the influence and protection of the patron? It is unfair to suppose that Lord Granby's friends have not as much merit as the friends of any other great man: If he is generous at the public expense, as JUNIUS invidiously calls it, the public is at no more expense for his lordship's friends, than it would be if any other set of men possessed those offices. The charge is ridiculous!

The last charge against Lord Granby is of a most serious and alarming nature indeed. JUNIUS asserts, that the army is mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit. The present condition of the army gives the directest lie

The present condition of the army, &c.] JUNIUS was, however, right: Sir WILLIAM DRAPER, in the wrong. The discipline of

to his assertions. It was never upon a more respectable footing with regard to discipline, and all the essentials that can form good soldiers. Lord Ligonier delivered a firm and noble palladium of our safeties into Lord Granby's hands, who has kept it in the same good order in which he received it. The strictest care has been taken to fill up the vacant commissions, with such gentlemen as have the glory of their ancestors to support, as well as their own, and are doubly bound to the cause of their king and country, from motives of private property, as well as public spirit. The adjutant-general, who has the immediate care of the troops after Lord Granby, is an officer that would do great honour to any service in Europe, for his correct arrangements, good sense, and discernment upon all occasions, and for a punctuality and precision which give the most entire satisfaction to all who are obliged to consult him. The reviewing generals, who inspect the army twice a year, have been selected with the greatest care, and have answered the important trust reposed in them, in the most laudable manner. Their reports of the condition of the army are much more to be credited than those of JUNIUS, whom I do advise to atone for his shameful aspersions, by asking pardon of Lord Granby and the whole kingdom, whom he has offended by his abominable scan-

the British army was, at this time, actually much neglected. It was, in fact, mouldering away. But, perhaps, the blame did not lie with Lord GRANBY.

Abominable scandals—slandorous tongues—poisonous and inflammatory libels—wicked productions—cowardly base assassins—felo-

dals. In short, to turn JUNIUS's own battery against him, I must assert, in his own words, " that he has given strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation."

WILLIAM DRAPER.

nious robbers—pomphous parade, &c.] Such are the modes of expression which feeble, blustering malignity is apt to use, whenever it attempts the eloquence of invective. They constitute ribaldry. They betray rage without genius. They are the favourite ornaments of our present *wonderfully eloquent Jacobins, and Anti-Jacobins.*

LETTER III.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

NOTHING could have occurred, more favourable to the intentions of JUNIUS, than that a man of rank, talents, and reputation, should eagerly, and without concealment of his name, make a public reply to only a part of his first Letter; a reply written with a show of ability, yet open to easy and confounding refutation.

This answer is a master-piece of controversy and invective, which I do not know to have been, in any instance, equalled by any other person. Of every, even the smallest slip, made by his opponent, JUNIUS takes keen, skilful, decisive advantage. Every push, every blow, every grasp, disarms, blinds, or pierces the vital parts. There is, in the whole flow of the Letter, somewhat of the malignity of a Domitian; who, when he commanded the most atrocious cruelties, then praised his own clemency the most: for, it is precisely in those parts in which JUNIUS affects the most of tenderness and courtly politeness, towards Sir WILLIAM DRAPER and Lord GRANBY, that he overwhelms them with the surest confutation, and the bitterest reproach. Of avowed concessions, JUNIUS fails not to take the most malicious advantage: concessions, inconsiderately made by implication, he seizes with the vigilance, the joy, and the cunning of a tiger rushing on its prey: he marks where there is something studiously concealed; and with penetration which no artifice can elude, and activity by which every labour is easily conquered, discovers the mystery, and to the confusion of his adversaries, drags it into day: he does more; once engaged with his adversaries, he adventures beyond those things which were immediately in dispute; and wherever aught is to be found, by which public scorn or indignation can be excited against them, he fiercely avails himself of it. All this is the act of a mind, not only of great powers, but evidently of a practice in the affairs of life, and an experience in logical and rhetorical contention about matters of actual business, and interesting to all the passions,—which, to it at least, must have been very great. But, JUNIUS thus contending with Sir William Draper, is a giant crushing a pigmy with the same exertion of care and skill, as if it were his match in force.

The Letter begins with the ironical praise of the generosity of Sir William's friendship to Lord Granby; and mentions, as the surest proofs of that generosity, the inconsiderate rashness and weakness of the defence which it had prompted him to attempt. It next triumphs over the weak assertion, that political writers were the only authors of all the national humiliation and discontent. It infers, against Sir William, that since he had undertaken the defence of none but Lord Granby; he must, therefore, have judged all the other ministers, arraigned by JUNIUS, to be unworthy of defence. It dexterously evades the charge of wanton malignity in the former Letter, against Lord Granby, by remarking, how foolishly his panegyrist had represented him, as a man of extraordinary endowments which he certainly did not possess. It affirms, with forcible proof, that he had obtained his full share of military honours and emoluments. And it renews the assertion, that his chief care as commander in chief, was to supply vacancies, and to supply them with a mean subserviency to the wishes and interests of the ministers. It brands his desertion of Mr. WILKES, as a forfeiture of the very honour of a gentleman. With infinite address, it brings under public notice, as if JUNIUS had wished to hide the opprobrium, as if Sir William Draper had not, that careless conviviality which was too often pushed to the worst excess of drunkenness at the Marquis's table. It convicts Sir William of having displayed inaccuracy in facts, relative to the army; which, whether the fruit of ignorance or design, ought to deprive him of all right to credit in whatever he should say of it. From this, it slides, by an easy transition, to Sir William's own conduct, and holds him out to the indignation of the army, and of the world; as a man who, for the sake of honours which he could not thus enjoy without ignominy, and of emoluments which must bring with them shame and remorse, had basely sacrificed, to a weak administration, the interests of the troops he had commanded, and the honour of the country to which he belonged. Not content with this, it accuses him of having bartered away, in a manner peculiarly dishonourable, the command of a regiment which government had bestowed as one of the rewards of his base services. It rises, at the conclusion, to a tone of the loftiest indignation and scorn; and insinuates that, not disinterested friendship, but the hope of another regiment, which he might again sell, had prompted that ostentatious interposition, in behalf of the Marquis of Granby, which drew upon him this chastisement.

SIR,

7. February, 1769.

YOUR defence of Lord Granby does honour to the goodness of your heart. You feel as you ought to do, for the reputation of your friend, and you express yourself in the warmest language of your passions. In any other cause, I doubt not, you would have cautiously weighed the consequences of committing your name to the licentious discourses and malignant opinions of the world. But, here, I presume, you thought it would be a breach of friendship to lose one moment in consulting your understanding; as if an appeal to the public were no more than a military *coup de main*, where a brave man has no rules to follow but the dictates of his courage. Touched with your generosity, I freely forgive the excesses into which it has led you; and, far from resenting those terms of reproach, which, considering that you are an advocate for decorum, you have heaped upon me rather too liberally, I place them to the account of an honest unreflecting indignation, in which your cooler judgment and natural politeness had no concern. I approve of the spirit with which you have given your name to the public; and, if it were a proof of any thing but spirit, I should have thought myself bound to follow

I approve of the spirit, &c.] The preposition *of*, was in this phrase unnecessary. The use of it, is an instance of incorrectness which occurs only in the carelessness of conversation, or in that class of our elder writers by whom delicate correctness of phraseology appears not to have been ever studied.

your example. I should have hoped, that even *my* name might have carried some authority with it, if I had not seen how very little weight or consideration a printed paper receives even from the respectable signature of Sir William Draper.

You begin with a general assertion, that writers such as I am, are the real cause of all the public evils we complain of. And do you really think, Sir William, that the licentious pen of a political writer is able to produce such important effects? A little calm reflection might have shewn you, that national calamities do not arise from the description, but from the real character and conduct of ministers. To have supported your assertion, you should have proved that the present ministry are unquestionably the *best and brightest* characters of the kingdom; and that, if the affections of the colonies have been alienated, if Corsica has been shamefully abandoned, if commerce languishes, if public credit is threatened with a new debt, and your own Manilla ransom most dishonourably given up, it has all been owing to the malice of political writers, who will not suffer the best and brightest of characters (meaning still the present ministry) to take a single right step for the honour or interest of

If Corsica has been shamefully abandoned, &c.] It was, undoubtedly, very careless policy in the ministers of Britain, to suffer the Genoese to oppress the Corsicans, or the French to take possession of that isle, at a time when the firm interposition of Britain might have settled Corsica in the condition of a small free republic, in which it would have proved a very useful dependent ally, in those seas, to the great naval power of the English.

the nation. But it seems you were a little tender of coming to particulars. Your conscience insinuated to you, that it would be prudent to leave the characters of Grafton, North, Hillsborough, Weymouth, and Mansfield, to shift for themselves; and truly, Sir William, the part you *have* undertaken, is at least as much as you are equal to.

Without disputing Lord Granby's courage, we are yet to learn in what articles of military knowledge, nature has been so very liberal to his mind. If you have served with him, you ought to have pointed out some instances of able disposition and well-concerted enterprize, which might fairly be attributed to his capacity as a general. It is you, Sir William, who make your friend appear awkward and ridiculous, by giving him a laced suit of tawdry qualifications, which nature never intended him to wear.

You say, he has acquired nothing but honour in the field. Is the Ordnance nothing? Are the Blues nothing? Is the command of the army, with all the patronage annexed to it, nothing? Where he got these *nothings* I know not; but you at least ought to have told us where he deserved them.

As to his bounty, compassion, &c. it would have been but little to the purpose, though you had proved all that you have asserted. I meddle with nothing but his character as commander in chief; and, though I acquit him of the baseness of selling commissions, I

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still assert, that his military cares have never extended beyond the disposal of vacancies; and I am justified by the complaints of the whole army, when I say that, in this distribution, he consults nothing but parliamentary interest, or the gratification of his immediate dependants. As to his servile submission to the reigning ministry, let me ask, whether he did not desert the cause of the whole army, when he suffered Sir Jeffery Amherst to be sacrificed, and what share he had in recalling that officer to the service? Did he not betray the just interest of the army, in permitting Lord Percy to have a regiment? And does he not at this moment give up all character and dignity as a gentleman, in receding from his own repeated declarations in favour of Mr. Wilkes?

In the two next articles I think we are agreed. You candidly admit, that he often makes such promises as it is a virtue in him to violate, and that no man is more assiduous to provide for his relations at the public expense. I did not urge the last as an absolute vice in his disposition, but to prove that a *careless, disinterested spirit* is no part of his character; and as to the other, I desire it may be remembered, that *I* never descended to the indecency of inquiring into his *con-*

Sir Jeffery Amherst to be sacrificed, &c.] This great officer, the friend and favourite of Lord Chatham, had been, chiefly on account of this friendship, very abruptly and imperiously removed from the government of Virginia, and left with no reward, but his military rank, for all his gallant and important services. He was restored to the service; and rose, afterwards, to the highest command in the army.

vivial hours. It is you, Sir William Draper, who have taken care to represent your friend in the character of a drunken landlord, who deals out his promises as liberally as his liquor, and will suffer no man to leave his table either sorrowful or sober. None but an intimate friend, who must frequently have seen him in these unhappy, disgraceful moments, could have described him so well.

The last charge, of the neglect of the army, is indeed the most material of all. I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that, in this article, your first fact is false; and, as there is nothing more painful to me than to give a direct contradiction to a gentleman of your appearance, I could wish that, in your future publications, you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premises, before you suffer your genius to hurry you to a conclusion. Lord Ligonier *did not* deliver the army (which you, in classical language, are pleased to call a palladium) into Lord Granby's hands. It was taken from him much against his inclination, some two or three years before Lord Granby was commander in chief. As to the state of the army, I should be glad to know where you have received your intelligence. Was it in the rooms at Bath, or at your retreat at Clifton? The reports of reviewing generals comprehend only a few regiments in England; which,

Lord Ligonier did not, &c.] The dismissal of Lord Ligonier had taken place some time before the appointment of the Marquis of Granby to the chief command of the forces. But, the office had been, in the interval, unfilled.

as they are immediately under the royal inspection, are perhaps in some tolerable order. But do you know any thing of the troops in the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and North America, to say nothing of a whole army absolutely ruined in Ireland? Inquire a little into facts, Sir William, before you publish your next panegyric upon Lord Granby; and, believe me, you will find there is a fault at head-quarters, which even the acknowledged care and abilities of the adjutant-general cannot correct.

Permit me now, Sir William, to address myself personally to you, by way of thanks for the honour of your correspondence. You are by no means undeserving of notice: and it may be of consequence, even to Lord Granby, to have it determined, whether or no the man, who has praised him so lavishly, be himself deserving of praise. When you returned to Europe, you zealously undertook the cause of that gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla your own fortune had been established. You complained, you threatened, you even appealed to the public in print. By what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to your injured troops, the name of the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? Did the ministry suggest any motives to you, strong enough to tempt a man of honour to desert and betray the cause of his fellow-soldiers? Was it that blushing ribband, which is now the perpetual ornament of your person? Or was it that regiment, which you afterwards (a thing

unprecedented among soldiers) sold to Colonel Gisborne? Or was it that government, the full pay of which you are contented to hold, with the half-pay of an Irish colonel? And do you now, after a retreat not very like that of Scipio, presume to intrude yourself, unthought-of, uncalled-for, upon the patience of the public? Are your flatteries of the commander in chief directed to another regiment, which you may again dispose of on the same honourable terms? We know your prudence, Sir William, and I should be sorry to stop your preferment.

JUNIUS.

LETTER IV....TO JUNIUS.

SIR William Drafter severely felt the force of the argument and invective in the preceding Letter. He was excited to make a second attempt, to vindicate as well his own honour, as that of the Marquis of Granby, and to evince, if possible, that his literary talents were not utterly contemptible in comparison with those of JUNIUS. With these views, straining all his abilities, he wrote the following Letter.

It is undeniably of considerable merit, as a piece of exculpatory eloquence. It is written more carefully than his former Letter, and with somewhat more of oratorical art. Yet, even here, he deals with too much of artless candour; he affects too much the use of such ornaments as are fitted to adorn the theme of a school-boy, or the laboured essay of a college pedant; he descends into detail and confession, too much in the manner of a man that felt himself humbled, awed, subdued, before his adversary.

This Letter begins with remarking, what advantages JUNIUS derives from the concealment of his person; how dishonest are the motives by which he must be prompted; how bitter his malignity; how ungenerous his misrepresentations; how powerfully his literary talents have seconded the badness of his heart. The author, next, renews his defence of Lord Granby; and maintains it with a degree of skill that seems to have been sufficient to deter JUNIUS from returning upon that nobleman's character as a fit subject of political satire. Of the state of the army, too, Sir William here writes with a knowledge of military fitness, and of the certain principles of human action, by which the force of the animadversions of JUNIUS is in a great degree destroyed. But, when this worthy man comes to speak of himself, he at once discovers the whole extent of his humiliation. He makes confession, as if he were on the rack; and, in the fulness of his heart, brings his adversary acquainted with facts against him, which but for this too frank discovery, might not have become publicly known. Had he

not thus furnished his opponents with a key to secrets, of which the notoriety was to make him odious, perhaps he might have come off from the contention, without heart-bitterness or disgrace.

17. February, 1769.

SIR,

I RECEIVED JUNIUS's favour last night: he is determined to keep his advantage by the help of his mask; it is an excellent protection, it has saved many a man from an untimely end. But whenever he will be honest enough to lay it aside, avow himself, and produce the face which has so long lurked behind it, the world will be able to judge of his motives for writing such infamous invectives. His real name will discover his freedom and independency, or his servility to a faction. Disappointed ambition, resentment for defeated hopes, and desire of revenge, assume but too often the appearance of public spirit; but, be his designs wicked or charitable, JUNIUS should learn, that it is possible to condemn measures, without a barbarous and criminal outrage against men. JUNIUS delights to mangle

But whenever he will be honest enough, &c.] Shall, not will, is the word which, in strict propriety of writing, ought to have been here used. Nothing in the idiomatic peculiarities of the English language, is less easily mastered, than skill to use the two auxiliary words shall and will, with delicate correctness, in every possible case in which the necessities of thought may demand their use.

JUNIUS delights to mangle carcasses with a hatchet, &c.] From the beginning of this period to the end of the paragraph, Sir William

carcases with a hatchet: his language and instrument have a great connection with Clare-market; and, to do him justice, he handles his weapon most admirably. One would imagine he had been taught to throw it by the savages of America. It is therefore high time for me to step in once more to shield my friend from this merciless weapon, although I may be wounded in the attempt. But I must first ask JUNIUS, by what forced analogy and construction, the moments of convivial mirth are made to signify indecency, a violation of engagements, a drunken landlord, and a desire that every one in company should be drunk likewise? He must have culled all the flowers of St. Giles's and Billingsgate, to have produced such a piece of oratory. Here the hatchet descends with tenfold vengeance; but alas! it hurts no one but its master! For JUNIUS must not think to put words into my mouth, that seem too foul even for his own.

Draper makes an awkward and pedantic use of the figure of the *hatchet*. JUNIUS is now a butcher mangling carcasses with his hatchet, then an American warrior throwing it; next a nosegay-maker, culling the flowers of St. Giles's and Billingsgate; again, an executioner, who in this culling of flowers makes his axe descend with vengeance. To this confusion, and this pedantry of metaphors, in the Letters of Sir William Draper, we shall hereafter find JUNIUS alluding with great force of sarcasm.

Alas! it hurts no one but its master!] *Alas!* had nothing to do in this place. Sir William Draper meant not seriously to regret, that JUNIUS should injure no one but himself: and there is no peculiar force of irony in this use of the word *Alas!*

My friend's political engagements I know not; so cannot pretend to explain them, or assert their consistency. I know not whether JUNIUS be considerable enough to belong to any party: if he should be so, can he affirm, that he has always adhered to one set of men and measures? Is he sure that he has never sided with those whom he was first hired to abuse? Has he never abused those he was hired to praise? To say the truth, most men's politics sit much too loosely about them. But, as my friend's military character was the chief object that engaged me in this controversy, to that I shall return.

JUNIUS asks, what instances my friend has given of his military skill and capacity as a general? When and where he gained his honour? When he deserved his emoluments? The united voice of the army which served under him, the glorious testimony of Prince Ferdinand, and of vanquished enemies, all Germany will tell him. JUNIUS repeats the complaints of the army against parliamentary influence. I love the army too well, not to wish that such influence were less. Let JUNIUS point out the time when it has not prevailed. It was of the least force in the time of that great man, the late Duke of Cumberland; who, as a prince of the blood, was

The late Duke of Cumberland.] The Duke of Cumberland, uncle to our present king, though not a man of splendid talents, military or political, was however brave, upright, of a steady dignity of conduct, of a heart not incapable of melting at times into all the tenderness of genuine humanity. His personal bravery was honourably distinguished in the battle of Dettingen. Although mastered by the

able, as well as willing, to stem a torrent which would have overborne any private subject. In time

generalship of Saxe, at Fontenoy, he gave eminent proofs both of courage and military genius, in the fatal battle from which that name derives its celebrity. The rebels of 1745, were subdued rather by the necessities of nature, than by the arms of the royal forces: yet, from the victory at Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland obtained, perhaps, the best portion of his military fame. He was unjustly accused of savage cruelty of nature, on account of what the remains of the rebellious clans were, after that battle, made to suffer. Severity was necessary, to terrify from future insurrection. But that which, without violation of the laws of war, could be hastily inflicted by the soldiery in the reduction of the country, was less odious, than if thousands had been brought to perish in cold blood by the hand of the executioner*. I have been informed, from the persons who were the objects of them, of many acts of gracious humanity performed by the duke in Scotland, while he was pursuing the rebels, and extinguishing the last remains of the rebellion. From this time, he enjoyed for a while, high popularity with the English nation. As commander in chief of the army, he deserved the praise which Sir William Draper bestows. He had an authority to do justice to military merit, which a mere creature of the ministry could not have possessed: and, resisting parliamentary influence, and indulging but few personal

* The severities which were then inflicted on the rebel clans, are greatly exaggerated, but consigned to immortal remembrance, by one of the finest pieces of poetry in any language, beginning,—“Mourn, hapless Caledonia! mourn.”—These verses were the composition of Smollett. They were the effusion of genuine patriotic sorrow and resentment, agitating a soul to which the best inspirations of the muse were peculiarly known. As a poet, indeed, Smollett appears to have infinitely excelled all his contemporaries. The whole collected poesy of all nations and all ages, can present nothing preferable in their respective kinds, to the ‘Elegiac Ode,’ here mentioned; his ‘Ode to Independence;’ and his ‘Ode to Leven Water.’ Yet, how little is he imitated! how faintly praised! What a preference is given to the pedantic compositions of Gray! It is impossible to peruse, without ardent indignation, that cold, spiritless, careless narrative, in which his old acquaintance, Moore, has only violated his ashes, while pretending to commemorate his life!

of war, this influence is small. In peace, when discontent and faction have the surest means to operate, especially in this country, and when, from a scarcity of public spirit, the wheels of government are rarely moved but by the power and force of obligations, its weight is always too great. Yet, if this influence at present has done no greater harm than the placing Earl Percy at the head of a regiment, I do not think

partialities, he made a noble use of it. He again commanded in Germany, in the beginning of the war of 1756. The ignominious convention of Closter-Seven, was the result of his generalship. From that time, he lived in discontented retirement; which was, for a while, not free from dishonour. But his heart was still true to the interests of Britain. A sincere concern for the public good, induced him, at the earnest solicitation of the King, and the Earl of Bute, to take a part in some of the many negotiations for new ministerial arrangements, which filled the first part of our present sovereign's reign. The Rockingham administration of 1765, was formed under his auspices. Yet, his death was attended by little more than the mere formality of public and private sorrow.

Earl Percy at the head of a regiment.] Earl Percy, the present Duke of Northumberland, was indeed prematurely advanced to the command of a regiment. But instances of such irregularity in military promotion, had often taken place before, and have not been wanting since. Lord Percy had, at that time, however, the misfortune to be son-in-law to Lord Bute: his promotion might be supposed owing to this connexion; and such a supposition was enough to make it a subject of much odium. Earl Percy, by the alacrity and gallantry of his service in America, made the most honourable compensation to his country for whatever military emoluments and honours he had obtained. He now lives in retirement from the court and parliament, as a great feudal chieftain at the head of his vavasours; exhibiting an illustrious example of the best private virtues; educating his children to do honour to the race from which they are sprung; expending his income in acts of benevolence, in works of useful improvement, in a well-regulated magnificence of living; vigilant for the

that either the rights or best interests of the army are sacrificed and betrayed, or the nation undone. Let me ask JUNIUS, if he knows any one nobleman in the army, who has had a regiment by seniority? I feel myself happy in seeing young noblemen of illustrious name and great property come among us. They are an additional security to the kingdom, from foreign or domestic slavery. JUNIUS needs not be told, that should the time ever come, when this nation is to be defended only by those who have nothing more to lose than their arms and their pay, its danger will be great indeed. A happy mixture of men of quality with soldiers of fortune, is always to be wished for. But the main point is still to be contended for; I mean, the discipline and condition of the army: and I must still maintain, though contradicted by JUNIUS, that it never was upon a more respectable footing, as to all the essentials that can form good soldiers, than it is at present. JUNIUS is forced to allow, that our army at home may be in some tolerable order; yet, how kindly does he invite our late enemies to the invasion of Ireland, by assuring them that the army in that kingdom is totally ruined! (The colonels of that army are much obliged to him.) I have too great an opinion of the military

defence and the general welfare of the district within which he resides; though not approving all the measures of government, yet not seldom strengthening its hands; conducting himself, in the whole, as best becomes a nobleman of the most honourable descent, of princely rank, of the most opulent fortune, an Englishman, and a subject of the British constitution.

talents of the Lord Lieutenant, and of all their diligence and capacity, to believe it. If, from some strange, unaccountable fatality, the people of that kingdom cannot be induced to consult their own security, by such an effectual augmentation as may enable the troops there to act with power and energy, is the commander in chief here to blame? Or is he to blame, because the troops in the Mediterranean, in the West Indies, in America, labour under great difficulties from the scarcity of men, which is but too visible all over these kingdoms? Many of our forces are in climates unfavourable to British constitutions: their loss is in proportion. Britain must recruit all these regiments from her own emaciated bosom; or, more precariously, by Catholics from Ireland. We are likewise subject to the fatal drains to the East Indies, to Senegal, and the alarming emigrations of our people to other countries: Such depopulation can only be repaired by a long peace, or by some sensible bill of naturalization.

I must now take the liberty to talk to JUNIUS on my own account. He is pleased to tell me, that he addresses himself to me *personally*. I shall be glad to see him. It is his *impersonality* that I complain of, and his invisible attacks: for his dagger in the air is only to be regarded, because one cannot see the hand that holds it; but, had it not wounded other people more deeply than myself, I should not have obtruded myself at all on the patience of the public.

Mark how a plain tale shall put him down, and transfuse the blush of my riband into his own cheeks. JUNIUS tells me, that at my return, I zealously undertook the cause of the gallant army by whose bravery at Manilla my own fortunes were established, that I complained, that I even appealed to the public. I did so; I glory in having done so, as I had an undoubted right to vindicate my own character, attacked by a Spanish memorial, and to assert the rights of my brave companions. I glory likewise, that I have never taken up my pen, but to vindicate the injured. JUNIUS asks, by what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to the injured troops, the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? I will explain the cause to the public. The several ministers who have been employed since that time have been very desirous to do justice from two most laudable motives, a strong inclination to assist injured bravery, and to acquire a well-deserved popularity to themselves. Their efforts have been in vain. Some were ingenuous enough to own, that they could not think of involving this distressed nation in another war for our private concerns. In short, our rights for the present, are sacrificed to national convenience; and I must confess, that although I may lose five-and-twenty thousand pounds by their acquiescence to this breach of faith in the Spaniards, I think they

I think they are in the right to temporize, &c.] They could not do otherwise than temporize. But this necessity arose, not from

are in the right to temporize, considering the critical situation of this country, convulsed in every part by poison infused by anonymous, wicked, and incendiary writers. Lord Shelburne will do me the justice to own, that in September last, I waited upon him with a joint memorial from the Admiral Sir S. Cornish and myself, in behalf of our injured companions. His lordship was as frank upon the occasion as other secretaries had been before him. He did not deceive us by giving any immediate hopes of relief.

JUNIUS would basely insinuate, that my silence may have been purchased by my government, by my *blushing* riband, by my regiment, by the sale of that regiment, and by half-pay as an Irish colonel.

His Majesty was pleased to give me my government, for my service at Madras. I had my first regiment in 1757. Upon my return from Manilla, his Majesty, by Lord Egremont, informed me, that I should have the first vacant red ribband, as a reward for many services in an enterprize which I had planned as well as executed. The Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville confirmed those assurances many

national weakness, but from the disjointed state of the internal government. That government continued thus weak and disjointed, till the commencement of the American war. Its weakness was renewed by the events of that war. Under Mr. Pitt, for the first time, since the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole supported by the odium of Jacobitism, have we seen an administration of the British government, so truly and permanently vigorous, as to be in danger only from the abuse of its own strength.

months before the Spaniards had protested the ransom bills. To accommodate Lord Clive, then going upon a most important service to Bengal, I waved my claim to the vacancy which then happened. As there was no other vacancy until the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham were joint ministers, I was then honoured with the order; and it is surely no small honour to me, that in such a succession of ministers, they were all pleased to think that I had deserved it; in my favour they were all united. Upon the reduction of the 79th regiment, which had served so gloriously in the East Indies, his Majesty, unsolicited by me, gave me the 16th of foot as an equivalent. My motives for retiring afterwards are foreign to the purpose; let it suffice that his Majesty was pleased to approve of them; they are such as no man can think indecent, who knows the shocks that repeated vicissitudes of heat and cold, of dangerous and sickly climates, will give to the best constitutions in a pretty long course of service. I resigned my regiment to Colonel Gisborne, a very good officer, for his half-pay, twelve hundred pounds Irish annuity; so that, according to JUNIUS, I have been bribed to say nothing more of the Manilla ransom, and sacrifice those brave men, by the strange avarice of accepting three hundred and eighty pounds per annum, and giving up eight hundred! If this be bribery, it is not the bribery of these times. As to my flattery, those who know me will judge of it. By the asperity of JUNIUS's stile, I cannot indeed call him a flatterer, unless he be as a cynic or a mastiff; if he

wags his tail, he will still growl, and long to bite. The public will now judge of the credit that ought to be given to JUNIUS's writings, from the falsities that he has insinuated with respect to myself.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

If he wags his tail, &c.] The whole of the figure which fills this period, is obscure, low, and without tolerable accuracy of resemblance in the comparison.

LETTER V.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

THIS Letter is an admirable instance of oratorical and controversial artifice, of that vigilant discrimination which perceives and seizes whatever can overwhelm or confound an opponent, of that closeness and force of logic, which gives clearness, exactitude and cogency to every inference, of that ardent vivacity of eloquence, which is the most consistent with gravity and strength, and without which these latter qualities can never exercise their happiest influence.

From the tone of public opinion, as well as from the train of the preceding Letter, JUNIUS could perceive, that it might not be prudent for him to renew his invectives against Lord Granby, nor to enlarge farther upon the neglected, undisciplined condition of the army. But he would not, like Sir William Draper, avow his convictions and his fears. Whatever personal candour might, in such a case, demand; far different were the suggestions of oratorical and controversial prudence. JUNIUS, therefore, assumes in this Letter, the tone of one who, in the controversy respecting Lord Granby, had certainly triumphed; and dexterously evades the discussion relative to the army, by alledging that Sir William Draper had, in his own person, dishonoured the military character. Sir William Draper had incautiously afforded room for turning the contention upon his own private character and circumstances. JUNIUS, willing to press to the last extremity, to wound and lacerate as it were to death, the man who had so officiously interposed as his adversary, seized all the advantages which Sir William gave; and, in this Letter, certainly uses them with a most masterly, but cruel and unsparing hand.

In respect to Lord Percy alone, does JUNIUS here return upon the affairs of the army. He returns to triumph.

Against Sir William Draper, personally, JUNIUS here urges, that he had sold the companions of his victory; that he had, even by his own confession, infamously bargained away the military rewards which that sale obtained to him; that what he, by misrepresentation, called a losing bargain, was in truth a very gainful

one, one negotiated with great address; that the whole army heard of the transaction with indignant scorn; that Sir William Draper could not enjoy the fruits of it, without the frequent repetition of an act of perjury.

Not splendor of imagination, but keen energy of sentiment, forcible cogency of logic, strong propriety of application, business-like plainness secretly combined with all the labour of eloquence, an art concealing all art, constitute the excellence of this Letter of JUNIUS. There is nothing more masterly, hardly aught equally so, in the invectives of Cicero against Antony, Cataline, or Verres. Compare the stile of this Letter with that of Johnson, in his pamphlet on the subject of Falkland's Islands; that of Gibbon, in his answer to Davies; or that of James Macpherson, in his famous pamphlet entitled, "*A Short History of the Opposition*;" and you shall perceive, how much JUNIUS here excels these great writers, by combining with happier skill than they, the natural tone and manner of real business, with the ornaments of eloquence, and the artifices of rhetoric. JUNIUS is, indeed, a mannerist; and he deals occasionally in eloquence of an epigrammatic cast. But, after these and other concessions shall have been made, how greatly will he still appear to transcend all rival merit! It is for the taste and discrimination of a Chalmers to proclaim, that JUNIUS is a poor, puerile writer!—It is for the judgment of a Campbell to discover, that these Letters must have been written by a youth of two-and-twenty.

SIR,

21. February, 1769.

I SHOULD justly be suspected of acting upon motives of more than common enmity to Lord Granby, if I continued to give you fresh materials or occasion for writing in his defence. Individuals who hate, and the public who despise, have read *your* letters, Sir William, with infinitely more satisfaction than mine. Unfortunately for him, his re-

putation, like that unhappy country to which you refer me for his last military achievements, has suffered more by his friends than his enemies. In mercy to him, let us drop the subject. For my own part, I willingly leave it to the public to determine, whether your vindication of your friend has been as able and judicious, as it was certainly well intended; and you, I think, may be satisfied with the warm acknowledgments he already owes you for making him the principal figure in a piece, in which, but for

[His reputation, like that unhappy country, &c.] It was in Germany, that the Marquis of Granby's last military achievements had been performed. Much as that country suffered, during the war, from the foreign troops which entered it, it suffered still more from the mutual havoc and ravages of its own native soldiery. The subject is here dignified by the comparison of the sufferings of the Marquis's reputation from the defence of Sir William Draper, with the sufferings of Germany by the devastation of troops destined to protect it. There is also a certain quaintness in the comparison, arising from the relation of Lord Granby to the defence and the injuries of the country which is mentioned. Perhaps, too, the author meant, that the whole should wear an air of the burlesque. Such are the figures in which JUNIUS delights to deal: and they rarely fail of admirably answering his purpose.

[For making him the principal figure, &c.] This is an instance of the unsparing malignity, equally fierce and subtle, which JUNIUS constantly exercises against his adversaries. JUNIUS had attacked the character of Lord Granby, with as much bitterness in his *first* as in his *third* Letter. It is not certain, that he would not have resumed his attack upon the same character, even though Sir William Draper had never written. But, he wished to find an excuse with the public for his own severity, in the unseasonable and impertinent interposition of his opponent. He seems, also, to have been desirous to make Sir William Draper as odious and contemptible as possible, in the eyes both of the public and of Lord Granby.

your amicable assistance, he might have passed without particular notice or distinction.

In justice to your friends, let your future labours be confined to the care of your own reputation. Your declaration, that you are happy in seeing young noblemen *come among us*, is liable to two objections. With respect to Lord Percy, it means nothing, for he was already in the army. He was aid-de-camp to the King, and had the rank of colonel. A regiment therefore could not make him a more military man, though it made him richer, and probably at the expense of some brave, deserving, friendless officer.—The other concerns yourself. After selling the companions of your victory in one instance, and after selling your profession in the other, by what authority do you presume to call yourself a soldier? The plain evidence of facts is superior to all declarations. Before you were appointed to the 16th regiment, your complaints were a distress to government;—from that moment you were silent. The conclusion is inevitable. You insinuate to us, that your ill state of health obliged you to quit the service. The retirement necessary to repair a broken constitution would have been as good a reason for not accepting, as for resigning the command of a regiment. There is certainly an error of the press, or an affected obscurity, in that paragraph where you speak of your bargain with Colonel Gisborne. Instead of attempting to answer what I do not really understand, permit me to explain to the public what I really know. In exchange for your regiment, you accepted of a colonel's

half-pay (at least two hundred and twenty pounds a year) and an annuity of two hundred pounds for your own and Lady Draper's life jointly.—And is this the losing bargain, which you would represent to us, 'as if you had given up an income of eight hundred pounds a year for three hundred and eighty? Was it decent, was it honourable, in a man who pretends to love the army, and calls himself a soldier, to make a traffic of the royal favour, and turn the highest honour of an active profession into a sordid provision for himself and his family? It were unworthy of me to press you farther. The contempt with which the whole army heard of the manner of your retreat, assures me, that as your conduct was not justified by precedent, it will never be thought an example for imitation.

The last and most important question remains. When you receive your half-pay, do you, or do you not, take a solemn oath, or sign a declaration upon your honour, to the following effect? *That you do not actually hold any place of profit, civil or military, under his Majesty.* The charge which the question plainly conveys against you, is of so shocking a complexion, that I sincerely wish you may be able to answer it

The contempt with which the whole army, &c.] In the case of Sir William Draper, JUNIUS has held up to reprobation, a plan of military bargaining and arrangement, which, however common, is assuredly not the most honourable to the army. In the former steps of this arrangement, Sir William Draper was not singularly blameable. But, in regard to the charge with which this Letter closes, the indignation, the malice, the eloquence of JUNIUS could not be too severe.

well, not merely for the colour of your reputation,
but for your own inward peace of mind.

JUNIUS.

LETTER VI....TO JUNIUS.

THIS short Letter is remarkable for little, except, for shewing Sir William Draper prostrate, and tortured to confession, before his adversary; for offering an explanation which served but to arm that adversary with another poisoned weapon against him: for presenting an exculpatory suggestion, in regard to the possibility of making even the best of men feel humbled and unhappy, by harassing accusation, questioning, and reproach, a suggestion which we shall find to draw from JUNIUS, in the next subsequent Letter, one of the most masterly trains of distinction concerning the agency of conscience, that have ever been exhibited by any moralist.

SIR,

27. February, 1769.

I HAVE a very short answer for JUNIUS's important question. I do not either take an oath, or declare upon honour, that I have no *place* of profit, *civil* or military, when I receive the half-pay as an Irish colonel. My most gracious Sovereign gives it me as a pension; he was pleased to think I deserved it. The annuity of two hundred pounds Irish, and the equivalent for the half-pay, together, produce no more than three hundred and eighty pounds per annum, clear of fees and perquisites of office. I receive one hundred and sixty-seven pounds from my government of Yarmouth. Total, five hundred

and forty-seven pounds per annum. My conscience is much at ease in these particulars; my friends need not blush for me.

JUNIUS makes much and frequent use of interrogations: they are arms that may be easily turned against himself. I could, by malicious interrogation, disturb the peace of the most virtuous man in the kingdom. I could take the decalogue, and say to one man, Did you never steal? To the next, Did you uever commit murder? And to JUNIUS himself, who is putting my life and conduct to the rack, Did you never bear false witness against thy neighbour? JUNIUS must easily see, that unless he affirms to the contrary, in his real name, some people who may be as ignorant of him as I am, will be apt to suspect him of having deviated a little from the truth: therefore let JUNIUS ask no more questions. You bite against a file: cease, viper.

W. D.

You bite against a file: cease, viper.] Sir William Draper, amid all his distress, cannot refrain from discovering the collegian. One should have thought, that this beauty of the fabulists, Æsop and Phædrus, could not be known to him, as much too trite and hacknied for seasonable use on such an occasion as the present.

LETTER. VII.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

THIS Letter is the Io Triumphe! of JUNIUS, in regard to the general result of his newspaper correspondence with Sir William Draper.

It begins with haughty ridicule of the confusion, the pedantry, the wildness, and the unseasonableness, of those metaphorical ornaments, which Sir William had, with a sort of anxious ostentation, spread over his Letters.

JUNIUS then artfully suggests to the reader's reflection, the contrast between the scholar-like composition of his poor antagonist, affecting beauties which could not but deform its general aspect, and weaken its general effect; and the hasty texture of his own style, which shewed not an ornament, but what was completely incorporated, so as to form the best strength of some argument, and in which the labour of rhetoric, logic, and eloquence, was as much as possible concealed under the appearance of native, unstudied sentiment, creating a language for itself, and of business-like plainness.

The substance which fills the second paragraph, is a masterly specimen of acute moral discrimination, and of much intimate examination of the principles of human character. It is precisely the middle compound character which JUNIUS specifies, that is the most easily wounded by inquiry and reproach. The power of moral discernment, displayed in this passage, were not unworthy of a Johnson, a Shakspeare, a Tacitus, or an Adam Smith; for, it is to be observed, that though Adam Smith's General Theory of Moral Sentiments be not good for much, yet in the subordinate trains of induction which occur in that work, he has given not a few admirable proofs of eminent skill in the anatomy of human character, and of just acquaintance with the practical springs of moral action.

Of the subsequent parts of this Letter, the most remarkable is that in which JUNIUS deduces from Sir William's defence of himself an accusation against his Sovereign. The inference was fair; the act such as Junius has named it; the dilemma to which Sir William Draper was thus reduced, the most cruel that can be imagined, to a man of keen feelings, and a high sense of honour.

The concluding paragraph bids adieu to this correspondence, in a mitigated tone, but still in the style of a man who looked down from an infinite distance upon his antagonist prostrate at his feet, and assumed the authority of a conqueror, in insulting at once the courage, the honour and the prudence, of him whom he had brought thus low.

It must be owned, that as Sir William Draper's open interposition in the controversy with JUNIUS was spontaneous, with a knowledge of the conditions under which he was to contend, JUNIUS cannot be, in candour, blamed, as having dealt unfairly by him. Yet, I should much rather recommend these Letters to Sir William Draper, as a model of controversial address, of argumentative closeness, of skill to confound the understanding by harassing the passions, than as examples of noble liberality and candour.

SIR,

3. March, 1769.

AN academical education has given you an unlimited command over the most beautiful figures of speech. Masks, hatchets, racks, and vipers, dance through your letters in all the mazes of metaphorical confusion. These are the gloomy companions of a disturbed imagination; the melancholy madness of poetry, without the inspiration. I will not contend with you in point of composition. You are a scholar, Sir William; and, if I am truly informed, you write Latin with almost as much purity as English. Suffer me, then, for I am a plain, unlettered man, to continue that style of interrogation which suits my capacity, and to which, considering the readiness of your answers, you ought to have no objection. Even Mr. Bingley* promises to answer, if put to the torture.

* This man, being committed by the Court of King's Bench, for a contempt, voluntarily made oath, that he would never answer interrogatories, unless he should be put to the torture.

Do you then really think, that if I were to ask a *most virtuous man*, whether he ever committed theft, or murder, it would disturb his peace of mind? Such a question might perhaps discompose the gravity of his muscles, but I believe it would little affect the tranquillity of his conscience. Examine your own breast, Sir William, and you will discover, that reproaches and inquiries have no power to afflict either the man of unblemished integrity, or the abandoned profligate. It is the middle compound character which alone is vulnerable: the man who, without firmness enough to avoid a dishonourable action, has feeling enough to be ashamed of it.

I thank you for the hint of the decalogue, and shall take an opportunity of applying it to some of your most virtuous friends in both houses of parliament.

You seem to have dropped the affair of your regiment; so let it rest. When you are appointed to another, I dare say you will not sell it either for a gross sum, or for an annuity upon lives.

Mr. Bingley, &c.] Bingley was a bookseller; who, being summoned as a witness for the crown, in one of those trials at law, which arose in the course of the contest between government and Mr. Wilkes, refused, in contempt of the Court, and in the manner here related, to make answer to the interrogatories of the Counsel or the Bench. He was committed to prison, and for a while detained. But, his refractoriness could not be subdued; and he was at length dismissed, as having, in confinement, suffered enough. He long survived that memorable part of his life; and died, a very old man, in the winter of 1799—1800.

I am truly glad (for really, Sir William, I am not your enemy, nor did I begin this contest with you) that you have been able to clear yourself of a crime, though at the expense of the highest indiscretion. You say, that your half-pay was given you by way of pension. I will not dwell upon the singularity of uniting in your own person two sorts of provision, which, in their own nature, and in all military and parliamentary views, are incompatible; but I call upon you to justify that declaration, wherein you charge your sovereign with having done an act in your favour notoriously against law. The half-pay, both in Ireland and England, is appropriated by parliament; and if it be given to persons who, like you, are legally incapable of holding it, it is a breach of law. It would have been more decent in you to have called this dishonourable transaction by its true name; a job to accommodate two persons, by particular interest and management at the castle. What sense must government have had of your services, when the rewards they have given you are only a disgrace to you!

And now, Sir William, I shall take my leave of you forever. Motives very different from any apprehension

Wherein you charge, &c.] The word *wherein* is now obsolete. It occurs, only in our elder classical works, and in books of law. Among such, probably, did the reading of JUNIUS chiefly lie. But even in the pages of JUNIUS, the use of *wherein*, seems inelegant.

And if it be given to persons who, like you, are legally incapable of holding it, it is a breach of law &c.] To be grammatically correct, this passage should have stood thus:—*To give it to persons who, like you, are legally incapable of holding it, is a breach of law.*

of your resentment, make it impossible you should ever know me. In truth, you have some reason to hold yourself indebted to me. From the lessons I have given you, you may collect a profitable instruction for your future life. They will either teach you so to regulate your conduct, as to be able to set the most malicious inquiries at defiance; or, if that be a lost hope, they will teach you prudence enough not to attract the public attention to a character, which will only pass without censure, when it passes without observation.

• JUNIUS*.

• It has been said, and I believe truly, that it was signified to Sir William Draper, as the request of Lord Granby, that he should desist from writing in his Lordship's defence. Sir William Draper certainly drew JUNIUS forward to say more of Lord Granby's character than he originally intended. He was reduced to the dilemma of either being totally silenced, or of supporting his first Letter.

Whether Sir William had a right to reduce him to this dilemma, or to call upon him for his name, after a voluntary attack on *his* side, are questions submitted to the candour of the public. The death of Lord Granby was lamented by JUNIUS. He undoubtedly owed some compensations to the public, and seemed determined to acquit himself of them. In private life, he was unquestionably that good man, who, for the interest of his country, ought to have been a great one. *Bonum virum facile dixeris;—magnum libenter.* I never spoke of him with resentment. His mistakes in public conduct, did not arise either from want of sentiment, or want of judgment, but in general from the difficulty of saying no to the bad people who surrounded him.

As for the rest, the friends of Lord Granby should remember, that he himself thought proper to condemn, retract, and disavow, by a most solemn declaration in the House of Commons, that very system of political conduct, which JUNIUS had held forth to the disapprobation of the public.

LETTER VIII.

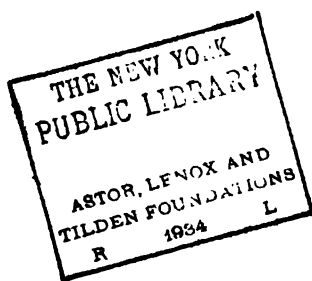
TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

WHEN JUNIUS closed his correspondence with Sir William Draper, he was impatient to aim at a nobler quarry. The Duke of Grafton was now principal minister, or First Lord of the Treasury. He stood at the head of those whom this writer wished to frighten from the helm of affairs. But for the interposition of Sir William Draper, and the discussion of the character of Lord Granby, the duke would probably have been singled out, the first, for a particular attack. Although writing these Letters, evidently, upon a pre-conceived and regular plan, yet JUNIUS had so settled this plan with himself, that he could seize, towards its accomplishment, in any part, whatever new events should rise upon the public notice, while he was proceeding in the series of his epistolary invectives. He, in this Letter, took occasion to open his attack on the Duke of Grafton, by joining in the outcry of popular resentment, on account of a pardon granted to a chairman, who had been condemned for murder, and whom the populace of London wished rather to have seen hanged. The circumstances of the case are worthy of being here mentioned somewhat in-detail.

The resignation of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, upon the rejection of the former's advice to declare war on Spain, was perhaps fully justified by the information and the views on which that advice was founded. But the resignation of those ministers, was made the signal for raising the outrageous clamour of unpopularity against the government of the sovereign, whose councils they had forsaken. When the Duke of Newcastle, and his dependents, at length reluctantly followed their example, a new agency was added to increase the bluster of the storm. The populace of London and Westminster would not, of themselves, have easily become prompt to seditious tumults, against the sway of a young monarch of an interesting person, and the fairest private character. But the discontented great, openly encouraged, to a certain length, the murmurs and tumults of the people; and what they themselves would not openly do to provoke those tumults and murmurs, that they contrived to have done more secretly by busy agitators, and



Duke of Grafton?



anonymous writings. *The North Briton*, the work of John Wilkes, assisted by Charles Churchill and Lord Temple, was admirably addressed to every popular prejudice and passion, and contributed, therefore, in an extraordinary degree, to inflame both high and low, especially about the metropolis, with mingled rage and contempt against the government. When the famous Forty-fifth number of that paper appeared, the ministry thought they saw the occasion which they desired, to have arrived. They began their proceedings against its author, by a measure which, though its use had been exemplified by the Whigs at the height of their power, was a violation of the fundamental laws of the constitution. This measure was the issuing of a general warrant; in the trial of the validity of which, the courts of law gave the triumph to Wilkes. Nothing animates vulgar ferocity and turbulence more than success. The government became, therefore, doubly unpopular, after the courts of law had, in one instance, declared against it. The Whigs, in opposition, saw with joy the unpopularity of the ministry: for they naturally believed, that a young king, desirous of the love of his people, and personally deserving it, would not fail to dismiss his present ministers and favourites, if he should once be convinced, that they, and they alone, made him odious to his subjects. Wilkes's imprudence soon reversed his triumph. He was expelled the House of Commons, and prosecuted to outlawry before a court of justice. Yet the popular ferment did not subside, nor could the tumultuous spirit of the people be easily reduced under the proper restraints. There had been irregularities in the renewed proceedings against the author of the *North Briton*, which, arising from nothing but imprudence and want of address in the ministers, were by the art of opposition represented to the people as indications of a settled design to overthrow the national liberties. By various acts, almost all the Whigs in the opposition, directly or indirectly, engaged never to take a part in the administration, without procuring a reversal of what had been done against Wilkes, and without compensating him for his sufferings in what was esteemed to be a public cause. On the other hand, for a while, no party would be admitted into administration, without engaging the principles and the consequences of the prosecution of Wilkes. The Marquis of Rockingham's administration, of 1765, were reduced to the humiliation of pensioning Wilkes abroad, that they might not lose, by his

return upon them, either the King or people. When the Duke of Grafton rose into greater authority, under the ministry of Lord Chatham, he taught his friend Wilkes to expect from his good offices, all that either Wilkes himself or the public could demand in his favour. Wilkes returned, submitted himself to the laws of his country, had his outlawry removed, and was condemned to suffer punishment under the effect of his former prosecution. The Duke of Grafton could not fulfil what he had promised; yet, the vigilance and the energies of government, were somehow unaccountably relaxed in favour of the daring outlaw. The people were glad to see him brave the government and the parliament to the teeth. They espoused his cause with eagerness infinitely greater than they had before discovered towards him. It seemed as if the populace of London and Middlesex were the plebs of ancient Rome; and Wilkes a tribune. Even while he was an outlaw, they would chuse him, at the general election, to represent the county of Middlesex in parliament. The rival candidates, whom government favoured, had a hired mob to contend with the mob of Wilkes's partizans. In a fray, a man of the name of Clarke was killed by persons belonging to that which was called the hired mob of the court. Those persons were brought to trial. In the exasperation of the people against the court, M'Quirk was fiercely found guilty by the jury. The crown might have freely pardoned him, without publicly assigning any reason for this act of mercy. But administration was, at this time, so timid and feeble, in consequence of its former irregularities in the exercise of power, that even pardon to a condemned criminal might not be granted, without rendering an account to the people. By the advice of Lord Camden, at that time Lord Chancellor, witnesses were again examined concerning the immediate cause of Clarke's death. It was rendered probable, that the jury who found M'Quirk guilty, might have hastily mistaken. M'Quirk was pardoned. The reasons for the pardon were made public; perhaps not more to justify the sovereign, than to throw out an insinuation of partiality in the jury. The clamour of the public was raised high against this act of mercy. JUNIUS marked their humour, and would not miss so fair an occasion of becoming the apologist of their prejudices, and of inflaming their passions, in

order the more effectually to promote his own primary views. The contest between the ministry and the people of the metropolis was on this occasion the fiercer, because while the people complained, on the one hand, that the government was disposed to support and strengthen itself by infractions of the law, and an irregular exercise of the prerogative, the friends of government, on the other hand, alledged that juries were eager to acquit every person tried before them, however strong the evidence against him, if it were a public crime of which he was accused, and that crime some attempts to thwart and embarrass the executive power.

In this Letter, JUNIUS introduces his animadversions on the pardon to M^cQuirk, with accusing the Duke of Grafton of making his sovereign odious to the English nation; by exhibiting him, contrary to the design of the English constitution, as the author rather of acts of unpopular severity, than of such as could be alone adapted to conciliate the favour of the people; and by making the exercise even of the royal prerogative of mercy to individuals, appear to be sullen cruelty to the public at large. These insinuations were intended, both to reach the sovereign himself, in the estimation of the public, and to excite, if the Letter should fall into their hands, mutual suspicions in the minds of the King and of his minister.

JUNIUS next enters directly upon the subject which his Letter was meant to discuss. He suggests, that government had employed every possible exertion of undue influence to save M^cQuirk at his trial. He affirms that, when his guilt had appeared too flagrant and too notorious, to be by any arts saved from the justice of an English jury—then—then, with singular wickedness and folly, had the minister advised his sovereign to insult that jury, and encourage seditious riots, by pardoning, upon frivolous pretexts, a criminal whose profigacy, mercy could not be expected to reclaim, and whose punishment would have been a highly salutary example, to command due respect for the king's peace, and due reverence for the laws.

He insinuates, as was then very industriously alledged by the demagogues and agitators of the opposition, that the ministers were not unwilling to encourage riots, and every species of tumultuous licence, in order to procure a pretence for superseding the legal functions

of the civil magistracy, by the ordinary employment of a military force to keep the peace.

He then examines the reasons alledged for the pardon of M^cQuirk, and pronounces them absurdly frivolous.

In the close of his Letter, he makes an eloquent transition to the case of Mr. Wilkes, by which the minds of the public were then deeply interested, and violently agitated. He strives to make the unpopular pardon to M^cQuirk still more odious, by contrasting it with the obstinacy with which government denied the only pardon which the people were greatly solicitous to obtain.

He concludes with a fierce accusation of the Duke's private morals and public conduct.

MY LORD,

18. March, 1796.

BEFORE you were placed at the head of affairs, it had been a maxim of the English government, not unwillingly admitted by the people, that every ungracious or severe exertion of the prerogative should be placed to the account of the Minister; but that, whenever an act of grace or benevolence was to be performed, the whole merit of it should be attributed to the Sovereign himself*.

*Every ungracious or severe exertion, &c.] JUNIUS has here quoted Montesquieu, as if Montesquieu were a suitable authority for an Englishman to cite for the principles of the British Constitution. But his assertion is, nevertheless, correct. It is one of the leading, practical principles of our Constitution, to exhibit the king directly to his subjects, only as the author of acts of benevolence and mercy. In the old government of France it was otherwise. When the sovereign held *beds of justice* to compel the parliament of Paris to register obnoxious edicts, he was shewn immediately to his subjects in the character of an oppressor.*

* Les rois ne se sont reservé que les graces. Ils renvoient les condamnations vers leurs officiers, *Montesquieu.*

It was a wise doctrine, my Lord, and equally advantageous to the King and his subjects; for, while it preserved that suspicious attention, with which the people ought always to examine the conduct of the ministers, it tended at the same time rather to increase than diminish their attachment to the person of their Sovereign. If there be not a fatality attending every measure you are concerned in, by what treachery, or by what excess of folly has it happened, that those ungracious acts, which have distinguished your administration, and which I doubt not were entirely your own, should carry with them a strong appearance of personal interest, and even of personal enmity, in a quarter where no such interest or enmity can be supposed to exist without the highest injustice and the highest dishonour? On the other hand, by what injudicious management have you contrived it, that the only act of mercy to which you ever advised your Sovereign, far from adding to the lustre of a character truly gracious and benevolent, should be received with universal disapprobation and disgust? I shall consider it as a ministerial measure, because it is an odious

I shall consider it as a ministerial measure, &c.] This language is constitutional. It would have become the mouth of a peer, or a representative of the commons, in either house of parliament. The King being *the living image*, as it were, the *personification of the constitution*, which, that it may be perpetual, must remain inviolate, cannot legally be called to account, nor reproached, nor punished, for any act public or private. But every act of the King's, that at all affects the community, can be performed only by the agency of servants. Those servants of the sovereign are, as subjects of the

one, and as your measure, my Lord Duke, because you are the minister.

As long as the trial of this chairman was depending, it was natural enough that government should give him every possible encouragement and support. The honourable service for which he was hired, and the spirit with which he performed it, made common cause between your Grace and him. The minister, who by secret corruption invades the freedom of elections, and the ruffian, who by open violence destroys that freedom, are embarked in the same bottom, they have the same interests, and mutually feel for each other. To do justice to your Grace's humanity, you felt for M'Quirk as you ought to do; and if

state, amenable to the laws for every act they perform, at whatever instigation. Whenever, then, any subject of the British empire feels, or fancies himself to be wronged by any act of the executive power; from whatever quarter it may proceed, however nearly the sovereign himself may seem to be concerned in it; he is free to seek redress, by calling on the commons to join in impeachment, by petitioning any or all of the three powers of the legislature, by suing in the King's courts, or even by appealing, under certain restrictions, to the protecting authority of public opinion. The servant of the executive power, from whom the wrong immediately proceeded, is the person whom he may legally accuse. Whatever the measure, or however high the servant, the laws will take cognizance, and grant redress. But the wrong is to be accounted the act of the guilty servant, not of the prince. No man is under compulsion to obey the King in aught contrary to law.

Made common cause between your Grace and him, &c.] With what skill of eloquence, JUNIUS contrives to degrade the peer and minister, by representing him, with forcible logic, on a level with the obnoxious chairman!

you had been contented to assist him indirectly, without a notorious denial of justice, or openly insulting the sense of the nation, you might have satisfied every duty of political friendship, without committing the honour of your Sovereign, or hazarding the reputation of his government. But when this unhappy man had been solemnly tried, convicted, and condemned;—when it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the same services, and that no excuse for him could be drawn either from the innocence of his former life, or the simplicity of his character; was it not hazarding too much, to interpose the strength of the prerogative between this felon and the justice of his country*? You ought to have known, that an example

To interpose the strength of the prerogative between this felon and the justice of his country, &c.] Here we have an admirable instance of true energy of expression, and of the best mode of reconciling the ornaments of rhetoric with pointed force of reasoning.

* *Whitehall, March 11, 1769.* His Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend his royal mercy to Edward M'Quirk, found guilty of the murder of George Clarke, as appears by his royal warrant to the tenor following.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS a doubt had arisen in Our Royal breast, concerning the evidence of the death of George Clarke, from the representations of William Bromfield, Esq. surgeon, and Solomon Starling, apothecary; both of whom, as has been represented to Us, attended the deceased before his death, and expressed their opinions that he did not die of the blow he received at Brentford: And whereas it appears to Us, that neither of the said persons was produced as a witness upon the trial, though the said Solomon Starling had been examined before the Coroner; and the only person called to prove that the death of the said George Clarke was occasioned by the said blow, was John Foot, surgeon, who never saw the deceased till after his death; We

of this sort was never so necessary as at present; and certainly you must have known, that the lot could not have fallen upon a more guilty object. What

thought fit thereupon to refer the said representations, together with the report of the Recorder of Our city of London, of the evidence given by Richard and William Beale, and the said John Foot, on the trial of Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, for the murder of the said Clarke, to the master, wardens, and the rest of the court of examiners of the Surgeons' Company, commanding them likewise to take such further examination of the said persons, so representing, and of said John Foot, as they might think necessary, together with the premises above mentioned, to form and report to Us their opinion, "Whether it did or did not appear to them, that the said George Clarke died in consequence of the blow he received in the riot at Brentford, on the 8th of December last." And the said court of examiners of the Surgeons' Company having thereupon reported to Us their opinion, "That it did not appear to them that he did; We have thought proper to extend Our royal mercy to him the said Edward Quirk, otherwise Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, and to grant him Our free pardon for the Murder of the said George Clarke, of which he has been found guilty. Our will and pleasure therefore is, That he the said Edward Quirk, otherwise called Edward Kirk, otherwise called Edward M'Quirk, be inserted, for the said Murder, in our first and next general pardon that shall come out for the poor convicts of Newgate, without any condition whatsoever; and that, in the meantime, you take bail for his appearance, in order to plead Our said pardon. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at Our court at St. James's, the tenth day of March, 1769,
in the ninth year of Our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

ROCHFORD.

To Our trusty and well-beloved James Eyre, Esq.
Recorder of Our city of London, the Sheriffs of
Our said city and county of Middlesex, and all
others whom it may concern.

system of government is this? You are perpetually complaining of the riotous disposition of the lower class of people; yet when the laws have given you the means of making an example, in every sense unexceptionable, and by far the most likely to awe the multitude, you pardon the offence, and are not ashamed to give the sanction of government to the riots you complain of, and even to future murders. You are partial, perhaps, to the military mode of execution; and had rather see a score of these wretches butchered by the guards, than one of them suffer death by regular course of law. How does it happen, my Lord, that, in *your* hands, even the mercy of the prerogative is cruelty and oppression to the subject?

The measure, it seems, was so extraordinary, that you thought it necessary to give some reasons for it to the public. Let them be fairly examined.

You are partial, perhaps, to the military mode of execution, &c.]
The people of London were, at this time, very generally persuaded, that government wished to find as many pretences as possible for employing the soldiers to keep the peace. A dangerous spirit of licence prevailed among the populace. The weavers of Spitalfields, the coal-heavers, the partizans of Wilkes and liberty, were for a while incessantly disturbing the peace of the city and the court, by mobbish tumults. Government interposed not, till the ordinary magistrates seemed unable or unwilling to preserve the public peace. It was demanded of those magistrates, to ask military assistance, whenever they should be insulted or trifled with by mobs. The ministers watched with vigilance over the police of the city. In several instances, at the first, the populace resisted the soldiers, till bloodshed ensued. The measures which were taken to suppress the riots in Spitalfields, proved highly offensive to Mr. Beckford and many of the magistrates and inhabitants of the city. The tu-

1. You say *that Messrs. Bromfield and Starling were not examined at M^r Quirk's trial.* I will tell your Grace why they were not. They must have been examined upon oath; and it was foreseen, that their evidence would either not benefit, or might be prejudicial to the prisoner. Otherwise, is it conceivable that his council should neglect to call in such material evidence?

You say that *Mr. Foot did not see the deceased until after his death.* A surgeon, my Lord, must know very little of his profession, if, upon examining a wound or a contusion, he cannot determine whether it was mortal or not.—While the party is alive, a surgeon will be cautious of pronouncing; whereas, by the death of the patient, he is enabled to consider

mults were suppressed; but the odium against government was inflamed. This is the train of events to which JUNIUS here alludes.

I will tell your Grace, why they were not, &c.] JUNIUS is not very successful in his attempt to refute the reasons upon which *M^r Quirk* had been pardoned. It is not to be supposed, but that the evidence of the surgeons here named would be the same, whether given upon oath or otherwise. Various causes, beside that only one which JUNIUS is willing to suppose, might have operated to prevent their examination at the trial.

A surgeon, my Lord, &c.] The reasoning in this paragraph is sorry enough. When a person is ill of a wound, other causes, less visible, and not capable of being fixed, like it, may co-operate with the wound to occasion his death. The physician or surgeon, who examines the state of the dying man, while all these causes act together, may perceive that his approaching death is brought on, not by one, but all of them. He who afterwards inspects the dead body, can estimate only those among the causes of his death, of which there are some fixed vestiges still to be seen.

both cause and effect in one view, and to speak with a certainty confirmed by experience.

Yet we are to thank your Grace for the establishment of a new tribunal. Your *inquisitio post mortem*, is unknown to the laws of England, and does honour to your invention. The only material objection to it is, that if Mr. Foot's evidence was insufficient, because he did not examine the wound till after the death of the party, much less can a negative opinion, given by gentlemen who never saw the body of Mr. Clarke, either before or after his decease, authorize you to supersede the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of the law.

Now, my Lord, let me ask you, has it never occurred to your Grace, while you were withdrawing this desperate wretch from that justice which the laws had awarded, and which the whole people of England demanded against him, that there is another man, who is the favourite of his country, whose pardon would have been accepted with gratitude, whose pardon

Inquisitio post mortem, &c.] These words have, in this place, no correct meaning. The absurdity which JUNIUS meant to point out was, that of instituting a sort of second trial of a person who had already been regularly tried and condemned to death. The phrase here quoted, seems to have casually occurred to him. He thought, that he had hit upon a forcible and quaintly allusive expression, hastily used it, and blundered into nonsense in the use.

Now, my Lord, let me ask you, &c.] This paragraph is in the highest degree eloquent. The transition from *Mr Quirk* to *Wilkes*, is singularly beautiful and happy.

would have healed all our divisions? Have you quite forgotten that this man was once your Grace's friend? Or is it to murderers only that you will extend the mercy of the crown?

These are questions you will not answer, nor is it necessary. The character of your private life, and uniform tenor of your public conduct, is an answer to them all.

JUNIUS.

LETTER IX.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

THE fame of JUNIUS was now rising every day higher. The preceding Letter, repeating the popular prejudices, and bestowing on them new reason and dignity, drew much of the public attention. The Duke of Grafton, as well as the Marquis of Granby, found a defender. A person of the name of Weston, a retainer in some subordinate capacity of the service of government, published, without concealing his name, a laboured defence of the pardon to M^r Quirk. JUNIUS seems to have at first scorned to descend to a correspondence with Weston himself. He, therefore, chose to give an answer to what that man had advanced, in this second Letter to the Duke of Grafton.

The introductory paragraph of this Letter aims at once to confound the Duke, and his advocate Weston, by urging, that the Duke had been luckless, beyond example, in every measure of his ministry; and that, therefore, the usual Marplot endeavours, and the wonted ill fortune of the Duke himself, must undoubtedly have been concerned in producing the publication of Weston, which pretending to vindicate his principles and conduct, had however all the effects of a severe satire against both. It derides the pious asseverations of Weston, as contemptibly hypocritical; employs somewhat of an indecent tone of scorn, in regard to religion in general; reminds the Duke of his alliance to the piety of Charles the First, as a matter of ignominy to him; and, with a language in which indignation and eloquence almost begin to lose themselves in bombast, and in the burlesque, asserts that the ministry of the Duke of Grafton had reduced the nation into circumstances of as much distress as was occasioned by the misgovernment of Charles the First, and suggests that the same remedy might yet again be tried which Charles had found so fatal.

The age, the infirmities, the strolx periods, and the foolish ignorance of Weston, his dishonouring the ministry, by offering to defend them on principles different from their own, and the miserable ina-

bility of the Duke, whose friends could not vindicate without contradicting him, form the burden of the second paragraph.

The third, somewhat weakly, tells of the spirit with which, in the case of M^r Quirk, the minister had, in defiance of the nation, preferred his fancied interest to his duty.

The concluding paragraph resumes the favourite theme of Mr. Wilkes. His morals were licentious; and JUNIUS seems here to insinuate, that the Duke of Grafton's were not purer than his. Even till lately, the Duke had delighted to cultivate Wilkes's friendship: and JUNIUS urges, that the minister, therefore, abhorred neither the imputed sedition nor the blasphemy of the outlaw. Yet, had the Duke abandoned the cause of his former friend; and either would not, or could not, procure his pardon. A native treachery of spirit, a fixed hostility to those liberties for which Wilkes was a sufferer, a capricious inconstancy, or a servility of compliance with the hatreds of the court, are of course hinted at, as the only motives to which the Duke's violation of his ancient friendship with Wilkes might be imputed. With these affirmations and insinuations, JUNIUS here mingles apologies for the vices of Wilkes, dark suspicions of insincerity in the conspicuous piety of the court, hints that Wilkes had been used as the tool of Grafton's ambition, and menaces of danger in the attempt to make him its victim.

It is easy to see, that this Letter, like the former, was written chiefly on account of Wilkes. The Duke of Grafton had, even lately, invited Mr. Wilkes from France, and encouraged him with the hopes of pardon, preferment, and emolument. But Wilkes's demands were so high, and so fixed was still the resentment of the court against him, that the Duke could not fulfil his promise, nor gratify his own wishes. Wilkes believed that he had the public on his side, and would not be made a dupe. He chose rather to encounter the Duke's resentment, than to risk the loss of the public favour. That favour made him representative in parliament for the county of Middlesex. Ministry procured him to be again expelled from the House of Commons. Again and again he was re-elected. Government had not, when this Letter was written, taken the last steps against Wilkes in regard to the Middlesex election. JUNIUS might perhaps hope, that his threats and invectives would deter the Duke of Grafton from the contest, and give the victory to the minion of the multitude.

MY LORD,

10. April, 1769.

I HAVE so good an opinion of your Grace's discernment, that when the author of the vindication of your conduct assures us, that he writes from his own mere motion, without the least authority from your Grace, I should be ready enough to believe him, but for one fatal mark, which seems to be fixed upon every measure in which either your personal or your political character is concerned.—Your first attempt to support Sir William Proctor ended in the election of Mr. Wilkes; the second insured success to Mr. Glynn. The extraordinary step you took to make Sir James Lowther Lord Paramount of Cumberland, has

But for one fatal mark, &c.] That mark, as JUNIUS would insinuate, was perpetual misluck, the consequence of perpetual blundering. *Nothing is more ridiculous, than blundering with the presumption of ability:* nothing more unpopular, than ill-fortune. This insinuation was, therefore, very skilfully addressed to destroy whatever character the Duke of Grafton might enjoy, as a man whose abilities at least qualified him for the office of minister, and would in the end conquer every difficulty.

Sir William Beauchamp Proctor.] This gentleman was, in a former parliament, member for Middlesex. He was a Whig, and had divided with the minority on some of the great questions which had arisen when Mr. Wilkes was first prosecuted to expulsion from the House of Commons. He was one of those who stood candidates for the representation of Middlesex, in opposition to Wilkes and Glynn, at the general election in 1768. M'Quirk was of the mob in his interest. He was disappointed in his hope of election.

Sir James Lowther, Lord Paramount of Cumberland, &c.] The transaction to which allusion is here made, was highly dishonourable, weak, and illegal. But the detail of its circumstances will be more seasonably introduced hereafter.

ruined his interest in that county forever. The House List of Directors was cursed with the concurrence of government; and even the miserable* Dingley could not escape the misfortune of your Grace's protection. With this uniform experience before us, we are authorized to suspect, that when a pretended vindication of your principles and conduct in reality contains the bitterest reflections upon both, it could not have been written without your immediate direction and assistance. The author, indeed, calls God to witness for him, with all the sincerity and in the very terms of an Irish evidence, *to the best of his knowledge and belief*. My Lord, you should not encourage these appeals to Heaven. The pious Prince, from whom you are supposed to descend, made such frequent use of them in his public declarations, that at last the people also found it necessary to appeal to Heaven in their turn. Your administration has driven us into circumstances of equal distress;—beware, at least, how you remind us of the remedy.

You have already much to answer for. You have provoked this unhappy gentleman to play the

* This unfortunate person had been persuaded by the Duke of Grafton to set up for Middlesex, his Grace being determined to seat him in the House of Commons, if he had but a single vote. It happened, unluckily, that he could not prevail upon any one freeholder to put him in nomination.

The miserable Dingley.] Dingley was a merchant, who offered himself a candidate in opposition to Mr. Wilkes, at the second election, after Wilkes had been expelled out of the new parliament. But none would vote for Mr. Dingley; and it was not without difficulty he could make his escape out of the hands of the mob.

fool once more in public life, in spite of his years and infirmities; and to shew us that, as yourself are a singular instance of youth without spirit, the man who defends you is a no less remarkable example of age without the benefits of experience. To follow such a writer minutely would, like his own periods, be a labour without end. The subject too, has been already discussed, and is sufficiently understood. I cannot help observing, however, that when the pardon of M'Quirk was the principal charge against you, it would have been but a decent compliment to your Grace's understanding, to have defended you upon your own principles. What credit does a man deserve, who tells us plainly, that the facts set forth in the King's proclamation were not the true motives on which the pardon was granted; and that he wishes that those chirurgical reports, which first gave occasion to certain doubts in the royal breast, had not been laid before his Majesty? You see, my Lord, that even your friends cannot defend your actions, without changing your principles; nor justify a deliberate measure of government, without contradicting the main assertion on which it was founded.

The conviction of M'Quirk had reduced you to a dilemma, in which it was hardly possible for you to reconcile your political interest with your duty. You were obliged either to abandon an active useful partisan, or to protect a felon from public justice. With your usual spirit, you preferred your interest to every other consideration; and with your usual judgment, you founded your determination upon the

only motives which should not have been given to the public.

I have frequently censured Mr. Wilkes's conduct, yet your advocate reproaches me with having devoted myself to the service of sedition. Your Grace can best inform us, for which of Mr. Wilkes's good qualities you first honoured him with your friendship, or how long it was before you discovered those bad ones in him, at which, it seems, your delicacy was offended. Remember, my Lord, that you continued your connexion with Mr. Wilkes long after he had been convicted of those crimes which you have since taken pains to represent in the blackest colours of blasphemy and treason. How unlucky is it, that the first instance you have given us of a scrupulous regard to decorum is united with the breach of a moral obligation! For my own part, my Lord, I am proud to affirm, that, if I had been weak enough to form such a friendship, I would never have been base enough to betray it. But, let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, this at least is certain, that, circumstanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The people of England have too much discernment to suffer your Grace to take advantage of the failings of a private character, to establish a precedent by which the public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter, with equal ease and satisfaction, employ to the ruin of the best men in the kingdom.—Content yourself, my Lord, with the many advantages which the unsullied purity

of your own character has given you over your unhappy deserted friend. Avail yourself of all the unforgiving piety of the court you live in, and bless God "that you are not as other men are; extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican." In a heart void of feeling, the laws of honour and good faith may be violated with impunity, and there you may safely indulge your genius. But the laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner; and, though you have succeeded in making him a tool, you shall not make him the victim of your ambition.

JUNIUS.

Your holy zeal to oppress a sinner, &c.] This is one of those occasions, of too frequent recurrence, on which JUNIUS discovers his acquaintance with the Bible, and his want of reverence for it.

LETTER X.

TO MR. EDWARD WESTON.

WESTON, it seems, thought fit to reply to the imputations of JUNIUS in the preceding Letter; and to deny, that he had attempted to defend the ministry upon other principles than their own. JUNIUS, provoked by that reply, condescended to address this short Letter of haughty exprobration to Weston himself.

Its purport is, to prove the truth of the contested assertion in the foregoing Letter, by the unanswerable evidence of a quotation from Weston's own pamphlet; to overwhelm Weston's feelings, by menaces and bitter abuse; to kindle against him the public abhorrence, by odious accusations.

To so mean an adversary, JUNIUS would not deign to write a long, nor yet a very elaborate epistle.

SIR,

21. April, 1769.

I SAID you were an old man without the benefit of experience. It seems you are also a volunteer with the stipend of twenty commissions; and, at

[An old man without the benefit of experience.] These words are, with some slight variation, quoted from the preceding Letter. They are, more remotely, a quotation from the famous speech of the late Lord Chatham, when Mr. Pitt and a young member of the House of Commons, in which he chastised the insolence of Horatio afterwards Lord Walpole, with a degree of severity and eloquence which that house had not often before witnessed. The speech, as we possess it, was, however, reported by Dr. Johnson: and it, very probably, came mended from his pen.

a period when all prospects are at an end, you are still looking forward to rewards, which you cannot enjoy. No man is better acquainted with the bounty of government than you are.

——*Ton impudence,
Temeraire vicillard, aura sa recompense.*

But I will not descend to an altercation, either with the impotence of your age, or the peevishness of your diseases. Your pamphlet, ingenious as it is, has been so little read, that the public cannot know how far you have a right to give me the lye, without the following citation of your own words.

Page 6—‘ 1. That he is persuaded that the motives, which he (Mr. Weston) has alledged, must appear fully sufficient, with or without the opinions of the surgeons.

‘ 2. That those very motives MUST HAVE BEEN the foundation, ‘on which the Earl of Rochford thought proper, &c.

‘ 3. That he CANNOT BUT REGRET, that the Earl of Rochford seems to have thought proper to lay the chirurgical reports before the King, in preference to all the other sufficient motives,’ &c.

—*Ton impudence, &c.*] This quotation is from Corneille; and is skilfully enough introduced.

Let the public determine, whether this be defending government on their principles or your own.

The style and language you have adopted are, I confess, not ill suited to the elegance of your own manners, or to the dignity of the cause you have undertaken. Every common dauber writes rascal and villain under his pictures, because the pictures themselves have neither character nor resemblance. But the works of a master require no index. His features and colouring are taken from nature. The impression they make is immediate and uniform; nor is it possible to mistake his characters, whether they represent the treachery of a minister, or the abused simplicity of a King.

JUNIUS.

Every common dauber writes, &c.] The meaning of this obscure similitude, almost lengthened into allegory, seems to be, that the composition of Weston's pamphlet was strikingly marked with all the bad qualities of his character. But the figure is obscure. It has the sound of lofty eloquence, but makes no distinct and forcible impression on the mind. JUNIUS seems, in this instance, to have suffered his eye, his ear, his haste, his disdain, to impose on his understanding and his taste.

He, however, at least virtually allows, in this Letter, that Weston's pamphlet might have been written without the privity of the Duke of Grafton.

LETTER XI.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Mr. Wilkes, disappointed in his hopes from the Duke of Grafton's protection and friendship, refused all compromise with the ministry. Would he have refrained from urging on the attention of parliament, and of the public, the tale of his injuries from ministerial persecution; perhaps, he might not have been again expelled from the House of Commons, and might have avoided any renewal of the proceedings at law, in the name of the crown, against him. But, Wilkes's purpose would not have been thus answered. He had declared to Mr. Gibbon, at an accidental meeting of conviviality, some time before the North Briton began to be published, that he intended to render himself conspicuous, and to make his fortune, amidst the political contentions which were then arising. Conspicuous he had indeed become: but, his fortune was not yet made. Had the ministers gratified his wishes in regard to fortune, he would perhaps have been gladly quiet. But, he was not fool enough to suffer himself to be robbed, without sure compensation, of the sole estate he now possessed—his noisy popularity. The contest between him and government was, therefore, to be renewed: and he was proud to renew it. Nor was it unfortunate for the laws and the constitution, that Wilkes's humour and interests moved him to act this part. He, certainly, gave occasion for the correction of some abuses which, having been introduced, under the pretence of necessity, during the long reign of the Whigs, had insensibly acquired almost the full authority of law.

The Duke of Grafton, however averse from degrading the dignity of the crown by this contest, yet could not avoid it. Lord Chat-ham had abandoned him; and it was expected, that the Duke himself would shrink away from before the storm. He stood his ground. He was even irritated to take a part against the mass

who had been once his friend, not less bold than the surrender of parliamentary privilege, and the use of a General Warrant, which had been employed against Wilkes under the administration of George Grenville. JUNIUS's former Letters to the Duke, had been without effect. Mr. Luttrell, not deterred by the fate of Dingley, vacated his seat in Parliament, for the purpose of offering himself a candidate for the representation of Middlesex, in opposition to Wilkes, after Wilkes's new exclusion from the House of Commons. Government gave him all its support; those riots were restrained, which had affrighted Dingley: yet only a petty minority of two hundred and ninety-six, could be persuaded to give him their voices at the election. The Sheriffs again returned Mr. Wilkes. He was not again expelled; nor was the election declared void; but, Mr. Luttrell was found to have been duly elected; though it was at the same time owned that, in returning Mr. Wilkes, the sheriffs had done but their duty.

This Letter was, soon after that event, addressed by JUNIUS to the Duke of Grafton. It begins with contrasting that relaxation of the energy of Government which had, in different instances, distinguished the first part of the Duke's administration, with that vigour and violence with which he now transgressed the bounds of law, and trampled on the rights of the people. It endeavours to make him ridiculous, by the imputation that he kept a mistress, that he deserted for her arms his official duties, and that her beauty had faded.

It next explains, how the influence of the crown was augmented, how the rights of the people were trampled upon, how the constitution of parliament was destroyed, if not by the rejection of Mr. Wilkes, at least by the arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell to represent the Freeholders of Middlesex.

It then attempts equally to alarm the Duke, to encourage the partizans of Wilkes, and to rouse the whole nation to take an eager part in the cause.

At the close, it contemptuously, and somewhat between threatening and irony, recommends to the Duke to recede from that system of illegal violence upon which his administration had lately proceeded, and to return to the former dissoluteness of his private life, and the

former careless relaxation in his exercise of the power of the Government.

This Letter is a skilful and eloquent composition. Its object was, to alarm and confound the minister, to rouse the indignation of the people, and to open the batteries of argument against the decision of the House of Commons in favour of Luttrell.

MY LORD,

24. April, 1769.

THE system you seem to have adopted, when Lord Chatham unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, gave us no promise of that uncommon exer-

Lord Chatham unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, &c.]
 Upon the dismissal of the Rockingham administration, Lord Temple, partly, as it should seem, for want of penetration and comprehension of mind, partly from honesty, and in part from an ungenerous personal resentment, refused, as he had formerly done, to assist in the formation of any new ministry, unless he might be assured, that the King would, on all occasions, adopt whatever principles of policy, *he* should chuse to dictate, and would employ those, and only those servants, whom *he* should please to recommend. Such terms, it would not have become the Sovereign to comply with. Lord Chatham had a mind incapable of dealing so ungenerously with his prince. He formed an administration to succeed the party of Lord Rockingham, in which a combination of men from all parties was attempted, to the exclusion of none but the unswerving adherents of Rockingham and Temple. The Duke of Grafton had been Secretary of State under the Marquis of Rockingham. He abandoned that administration, when he saw that their fall was near. Attaching himself to Lord Chatham, he obtained the appointment of First Lord of the Treasury, while Chatham reserved for himself the place of Lord Privy Seal in the new ministry. Having acted with due respect towards his Sovereign, and with sufficient liberality to those whom he brought into office with himself; Lord

tion of vigour, which has since illustrated your character, and distinguished your administration. Far from discovering a spirit bold enough to invade the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution, you were scrupulous of exercising even those powers with which the executive branch of the legislature is legally invested. We have not yet forgotten how long Mr. Wilkes was suffered to appear at large, nor how long he was at liberty to canvass for the city and county, with all the terrors of an outlawry hanging over him. Our gracious Sovereign has not yet forgotten the extraordinary care you took of his dignity, and of the safety of his person, when, at a crisis which courtiers affected to call alarming, you left the metropolis exposed for two nights together, to every species of riot and disorder. The security of the royal residence from insult was

Chatham seems to have expected, that he might enjoy, at last, an authority almost supreme, without responsibility, and without toil. He was however disappointed, in regard both to his influence with the Sovereign, and to the respect and attachment of his fellow-ministers. He, first, languished in ministerial exertion; and, then retired, under the pretext of ill-health. The Duke of Grafton was thus left principal minister. It was at this time, while he probably doubted what part to take, that there was a temporary relaxation of the energies of government: Mr. Wilkes, though an outlaw, was suffered to offer himself a candidate for the representation, first of the city of London, afterwards of the county of Middlesex; and mobs were left to riot throughout the metropolis, not without threatening the safety even of the palace itself. It is not without great skill, that JUNIUS strives to make this minister contemptible and odious, by representing him as feeble and negligent in the exercise of power where energy was required, but furious and illegally violent where steady moderation was alone wanted.

then sufficiently provided for in Mr. Conway's firmness, and Lord Weymouth's discretion; while the

Mr. Conway's firmness, &c.] Henry Seymour Conway, brother to the Earl of Hertford, served in the army with great reputation, and rose almost to the highest military rank during the reign of George the Second. His talents, both as a speaker in parliament, and in the transaction of other political business, were also eminent. In the contentions which arose after the beginning of the present reign, he was, to the great indignation of his party, dismissed from his place as groom of the stole, and from his military employments, on account of his parliamentary conduct. It was in the year 1764, and because he voted in opposition to government upon the question of General Warrants, that he was thus dismissed. His cousin, Horace Walpole, addressed a well-written paper to the public in his behalf, upon that occasion; and the injury which Conway was supposed to have suffered, and the integrity that was believed to have drawn it upon him, added much new popularity to his character. In the changes of power, he was afterwards secretary of state. The Duke of Grafton, I think it was, refused to act with him; and he was obliged to retire from office. During the American war, he was in opposition. He took afterwards a part in the military service of government, and rose to the rank of field-marshal. He was a man of wit and of taste in polite literature, as well as a soldier and politician. The comedy of *False Appearances*, classically translated from the French, and adapted to the English stage, is a signal proof at least of his taste. A long and cordial friendship between him and his cousin, Horace Walpole, the late Lord Orford, is finely commemorated in the publication of Walpole's Letters to him, which compose perhaps the best part of the late splendid edition of that nobleman's works. He married the Countess Dowager of Aylesbury, one of the daughters of John Duke of Argyle. The honourable Mrs. Damer was the only daughter of that marriage, and the only surviving child of General Conway. Her genius for the Fine Arts, and the admirable works of statuary which she has executed, are universally known. General Conway's character and political conduct were remarkable, rather for gentleness, rectitude, elegance, and moderation, than for bold decision and vigorous activity.

prime minister of Great Britain, in a rural retirement, and in the arms of faded beauty, had lost all memory of his Sovereign, his country, and himself. In these instances you might have acted with vigour, for you would have had the sanction of the laws to support you. The friends of government might have defended you without shame; and moderate men, who wish well to the peace and good order of society, might have had a pretence for applauding your conduct. But these, it seems, were not occasions worthy of your Grace's interposition. You reserved the proofs of your intrepid spirit for trials of greater hazard and importance; and now, as if the most

In the arms of faded beauty, &c.] Unfortunate in a first marriage, the Duke of Grafton now lived in celibacy, and kept a mistress, who had been, in the eyes of JUNIUS, it seems, lovelier when she was younger. This was no heinous political crime. But, it was the avowed principle of the writer of these Letters, never to spare the man whose measures were to be condemned; ever to mingle the abuse of private character with the vehement disapprobation of public conduct. When a minister or adversary of any sort was to be *written down*, JUNIUS thought that no sort of opprobrium against him ought to be spared, that could contribute at all to this effect. While the *morality* of this principle is to be condemned, its policy is, however, in the present state of society, to be approved. An opposition that sincerely affects too much candour towards its adversaries, must ever be feeble and inefficient. But, the use of opprobria against a political opponent may be carried too far. If harsh epithets, or malicious hints, be repeated till they lose their first lively effect on a hearer's or reader's mind, the intended effect is then directly counteracted, and the abuse is not less injudicious than unjust. JUNIUS, vehement in spirit, and proud of his talents for obloquy and invective, appears to have occasionally run into this error; and, perhaps, in no instance more strikingly than in too often twitting the Duke of Grafton with Miss Parsons.

disgraceful relaxation of the executive authority had given you a claim of credit to indulge in excesses still more dangerous, you seem determined to compensate amply for your former negligence; and to balance the non-execution of the laws with a breach of the constitution. From one extreme you suddenly start to the other, without leaving, between the weakness and the fury of the passions, one moment's interval for the firmness of the understanding.

These observations, general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your Grace's administration, and perhaps, may be the employment of a future hour. But the business of the present moment will not suffer me to look back to a series of events, which cease to be interesting or important, because they are succeeded by a measure so singularly daring that it excites all our attention, and engrosses all our resentment.

Your patronage of Mr. Luttrell has been crowned with success. With this precedent before you, with the principles on which it was established, and with

Between the weakness and the fury of the passions, one moment's interval for the firmness of the understanding.] Here is an instance of antithesis, and of the accumulation of words for the sake of harmony, which resembles the labour of a rhetorician, much more than the ordinary train of the eloquence of JUNIUS. Nor is this the sole instance. There are several others in the same first paragraph of this Letter. The manner of composition throughout the paragraph, savours too much of the pomp and too apparent technical artifice of Johnson and of Gibbon.

With the principles on which it was established, &c.] I shall not here anticipate the statement of the arguments concerning the ac-

- a future House of Commons, perhaps less virtuous than the present, every county in England, under the auspices of the Treasury, may be represented as completely as the county of Middlesex. Posterity will be indebted to your Grace for not contenting yourself with a temporary expedient, but entailing upon them the immediate blessings of your administration. Boroughs were already too much at the mercy of government. Counties could neither be purchased nor intimidated. But their solemn determined election may be rejected, and the man they detest may be appointed, by another choice, to represent them in parliament. Yet it is admitted, that the sheriffs obeyed the laws, and performed their duty*. The return they made must have been legal and valid, or undoubtedly they would have been censured for making it. With every good-natured allowance for your Grace's youth and inexperience, there are some things which you cannot but know. You cannot but know that the right of

ceptance of Mr. Luttrell by the House of Commons, as one of the representatives for Middlesex. JUNIUS enters more fully into them in some of the subsequent Letters : and, in examining these, we may take occasion to contrast, with the reasonings of JUNIUS on this subject, those of Dr. Samuel Johnson. The whole train of explication that follows, to the end of this paragraph, is admirably clear and forcible ; and, therefore, a model of consummate eloquence. The doctrine which it contains, expresses with singular precision the true principles of the constitution relative to the subject of which it speaks.

* Sir Fletcher Norton, when it was proposed to punish the sheriffs, declared in the House of Commons that they, in returning Mr. Wilkes, had done no more than their duty.

the freeholders to adhere to their choice (even supposing it improperly exerted) was as clear and indisputable as that of the House of Commons to exclude one of their own members:—nor is it possible for you not to see the wide distance there is between the negative power of rejecting one man, and the positive power of appointing another. The right of expulsion, in the most favourable sense, is no more than the custom of parliament. The right of election is the very essence of the constitution. To violate that right, and much more to transfer it to any other set of men, is a step leading immediately to the dissolution of all government. So far forth as it operates, it constitutes a House of Commons which *does not* represent the people. A House of Commons so formed would involve a contradiction, and the grossest confusion of ideas; but there are some ministers, my Lord, whose views can only be answered by reconciling absurdities, and making the same proposition, which is false and absurd in argument, true in fact.

This measure, my Lord, is however attended with one consequence, favourable to the people, which I am persuaded you did not foresee*. While the contest lay between the ministry and Mr. Wilkes, his situation and private character gave you advantages over him, which common candour, if not the memory of your former friendship, should have forbidden you to make use of. To religious men, you had

* The reader is desired to mark this prophecy.

an opportunity of exaggerating the irregularities of his past life;— to moderate men, you held forth the pernicious consequences of faction. Men who, with this character, looked no farther than to the object before them, were not dissatisfied at seeing Mr. Wilkes excluded from parliament. You have now taken care to shift the question; or, rather, you have created a new one, in which Mr. Wilkes is no more concerned than any other English gentleman. You have united this country against you on one grand constitutional point, on the decision of which our existence as a free people absolutely depends. You have asserted, not in words but in fact, that the representation in parliament does not depend upon the choice of the freeholders. If such a case can possibly happen once, it may happen frequently; it may happen always;—and if three hundred votes, by any mode of reasoning whatsoever, can prevail against twelve hundred, the same reasoning would equally have given Mr. Luttrell his seat with ten votes, or even with one. The consequences of this attack upon the constitution are too plain and palpable not to alarm the dullest apprehension. I trust you will find, that the people of England are neither deficient in spirit nor understanding, though you have treated them as if they had neither sense to feel, nor spirit to resent. We have reason to thank God and our ancestors, that there never yet was a minister in this country, who could stand the issue of such a conflict; and, with every prejudice in favour of your intentions, I see no such abilities in your Grace, as should entitle you to succeed in an enterprize, in which the ablest and

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D. Elton sc.

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basest of your predecessors have found their destruction. You may continue to deceive your gracious master with false representations of the temper and condition of his subjects. You may command a venal vote, because it is the common established appendage of your office. But never hope, that the freeholders will make a tame surrender of their rights, or that an English army will join with you in overturning the liberties of their country. They know that their first duty, as citizens, is paramount to all subsequent engagements; nor will they prefer the discipline, nor even the honours of their profession, to those sacred original rights which belonged to them before they were soldiers, and which they claim and possess as the birth-right of Englishmen.

Return, my Lord, before it be too late, to that easy, insipid system, which you first set out with. Take back your mistress*;—the name of friend may be fatal to her, for it leads to treachery and persecution. Indulge the people. Attend New Market. Mr. Luttrell may again vacate his seat; and Mr. Wilkes, if not persecuted, will soon be forgotten. To be weak and inactive, is safer than to be daring and criminal; and wide is the distance between a riot of the populace,

* The Duke, about this time, had separated himself from Ann Parsons; but proposed to continue united with her, on some Platonic terms of friendship, which she rejected with contempt. His baseness to this woman is beyond description or belief.

And wide is the distance between a riot of the populace, and a convulsion of the whole kingdom.] In using these words, JUNIUS wishes to insinuate, that the riots had been the consequences of the Duke's negligent and feeble government, but that a general commo-

and a convulsion of the whole kingdom. You may live to make the experiment, but no honest man can wish you should survive it.

JUNIUS.

tion, or even rebellion, might be the effect of his maintaining Mr. Luttrell in parliament as representative for the county of Middlesex.

LETTER XII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

THE former Letters from JUNIUS to the Duke of Grafton, whatever secret pain they might have given his Grace, had produced no alteration in his public conduct. Mr. Luttrell still sat in the House of Commons, as one of the representatives for the county of Middlesex : Mr. Wilkes was not freed from the effects of the prosecution against him : those vigorous measures were not relaxed, which government had, at length, resolutely adopted, for the suppression of the riots which had too long triumphed in the metropolis. Neither did it appear, that the Duke of Grafton had either lost the confidence of his Sovereign, or himself wavered as to his intention of remaining in office. He was even strengthened in power, by an alliance of marriage, which might seem to unite him with the family and the party of the Duke of Bedford. Yet, the power of JUNIUS over public opinion, was in the meantime astonishingly increased : and he was already regarded as the most formidable of all the foes of the ministry, the ablest of all the allies of the opposition. He determined, therefore, to try what might be done by one general Letter of Satire upon the whole conduct and character of the first minister, both in public and in private life. To command new admiration of his accusatory eloquence ; to render the Duke of Grafton, if possible, odious and contemptible, in the judgment of all parties ; to make him shrink in confusion and terror from the responsibility of ministerial office ; or even to exasperate the people till they should drag him from it with tumultuous fury ; were evidently the objects at which JUNIUS, in this Letter, boldly aimed.

This invective begins with an exordium, artfully framed to operate on the minds of more candid and forbearing readers, as an excuse for its malicious severity. The minister is represented, as one who, what with audacity in vice, what from weakness of understanding, scorned all the decencies of appearance, and gloried in

the basest political turpitude. Why, then, would JUNIUS insinuate, spare a man thus careless of his own fame, thus lost to all sensibility of reproach?

Caprice, still wavering among contrarieties, yet never deviating into wisdom or virtue, is the first and most eminent bad quality which JUNIUS here attributes to the object of his abuse. He then artfully reminds the Duke of his spurious descent from the royal family of the Stuarts; and sketches, with the hand of a master-artist, but with the outrageous injustice of the most violent of the Whigs, the characters of the virtuous and unfortunate Charles the First, and of his less honest, though more successful son, Charles the Second. He touches on these characters, only to attribute to the Duke of Grafton the combination of the worst qualities which factious malignity had imputed to them both. Then, tracing the history of the Duke's political life, from his first entrance as a conspicuous agent on the theatre of public affairs, to that present moment, he strives to display it as being everywhere made up only of waywardness, folly, treachery, and dishonour. The recent alliance of the Duke with the family of Bedford, is next malignantly represented; perhaps, with a view to alarm the Sovereign, as one in which he had sacrificed all considerations of delicacy and honour to the hope of a new acquisition of parliamentary interest, and of being strengthened in office even to such a degree, that he might bid defiance to his King. The measures which the Duke had proposed, or supported, in regard to the taxation of America, present new scope for the continuance of this invective. That France was suffered to crush the liberties of the Corsicans; that Britain neglected to cultivate an influence with the Turks; that Sir John Moore had a pension; are so many other topics of ministerial conduct, in which the fierce satirist finds still new matter for heightened accusation. The Duke of Grafton is then represented to have consummated those mischiefs to the Sovereign and the empire, which were begun in the ostensible ministry of the Earl of Bute. The conclusion of the Letter insults the obnoxious minister, by assuring him, in a tone of the highest literary arrogance, that in this damning misrepresentation of his character would his memory be preserved, to meet the contempt and abhorrence of the most distant posterity.

The boldness of this address, the art with which the intermixture of truth in it was made to lend new credibility to falsehood, its wit,

its elegance, its lofty vehemence, the secret anecdotes which it brought into light, and the able discernment of political expediences which it exhibited, gave it an influence inconceivably great on the minds of those to whom it was addressed. The unlucky error of ministry, in regard to the North Briton, and its author, had rendered them very much at a loss how to act concerning future political libels. Did they prosecute? Juries would perhaps protect the libeller. Did they call in the immediate aid of Parliament? Even the House of Commons was not at this time sufficiently respected by the people. Should they have recourse to any of those bold measures, which the suspicion of Jacobitism, and the fear of rebellion, had once suggested and justified? It would be proclaimed, that the liberties of the people were no more; and the nation might be perhaps excited to armed resistance, as lawful in the extremity of danger to which it might be pretended that the constitution was now reduced. Thus embarrassed, the government acted with a degree of forbearance, in respect to such political invectives, as those of JUNIUS, which had scarce ever before been exemplified in the English history. If they suffered others, from an unwillingness to enter into a doubtful contention for the sake of trifles which would not fail to perish by their own insignificance; they were, by the Letters of JUNIUS, absolutely overawed, and terrified into silence. He knew that he had little to fear, and that his safe boldness gave him wonderful authority with the public, above what moderation could have enjoyed. Had it not been for these circumstances, we should not now, perhaps, have possessed this eloquent epistle.

Political Letters in the Newspapers were at that time the more attentively read, because accounts of the proceedings in Parliament had not yet begun to be regularly published.

MY LORD,

30. May, 1769.

IF the measures in which you have been most successful, had been supported by any tolerable appearance of argument, I should have thought my time not ill employed, in continuing to examine

your conduct as a minister, and stating it fairly to the public. But when I see questions, of the highest national importance, carried as they have been, and the first principles of the constitution openly violated, without argument or decency, I confess, I give up the cause in despair. The meanest of your predecessors had abilities sufficient to give a colour to their measures. If they invaded the rights of the people, they did not dare to offer a direct insult to their understanding; and, in former times, the most venal parliaments made it a condition, in their bargain with the minister, that he should furnish them with some plausible pretences for selling their country and themselves. You have had the merit of introducing a more compendious system of government and logic. You neither address yourself to the passions, nor to the understanding, but simply to the touch. You apply yourself immediately to the feelings of your friends; who, contrary to the forms of parliament, never enter heartily into a debate, until they have divided.

Relinquishing, therefore, all idle views of amendment to your Grace, or of benefit to the public, let me be permitted to consider your character and con-

You apply yourself immediately to the feelings of your friends, &c.] This period exhibits, in the use of the words feelings and divided, two puns, of which one cannot approve, as consistent with delicate correctness of composition; but which nevertheless produce, as we here find them, no unhappy effect, and which might well serve to excite the horse-laugh of the vulgar part of JUNIUS's readers.

duct merely as a subject of curious speculation.— There is something in both, which distinguishes you not only from all other ministers, but all other men. It is not that you do wrong by design, but that you should never do right by mistake. It is not that your indolence and your activity have been equally misapplied; but that the first uniform principle, or if I may call it the genius of your life, should have carried you through every possible change and contradiction of conduct, without the momentary imputation or colour of a virtue; and that the wildest spirit of inconsistency should never once have betrayed you into a wise or honourable action. This, I own, gives an air of singularity to your fortune, as well as to your disposition. Let us look back together to a scene, in which a mind like yours will find nothing to repent of. Let us try, my Lord, how well you have supported the various relations in which you stood to your Sovereign, your country, your friends, and yourself. Give us, if it be possible, some excuse to posterity, and to ourselves, for submitting to your administration. If not the abilities of a great minister, if not the integrity of a patriot, or the fidelity of a friend, shew us at least the firmness of a man.—For the sake of your mistress, the lover shall be spared. I

The various relations in which you stood, &c.] Here is an incongruity of metaphor, which must not escape remark. We cannot be, with propriety, said to *support* that *in* which we *stand*.

For the sake of your mistress, &c.] This is a theme upon which JUNIUS delights again and again to return. He is here artfully severe, while professing tenderness; and contrives to insinuate, that the object of his satire was capable, in his intercourse with females of nothing but the ostentation of vice, and the grossest sensuality of love.

will not lead her into public, as you have done; nor will I insult the memory of departed beauty. Her sex, which alone made her amiable in your eyes, makes her respectable in mine.

The character of the reputed ancestors of some men, has made it possible for their descendants to be vicious in the extreme, without being degenerate. Those of your Grace, for instance, left no distressing examples of virtue, even to their legitimate posterity; and you may look back with pleasure to an illustrious pedigree, in which heraldry has not left a single good quality upon record to insult or upbraid you. You have better proofs of your descent, my Lord, than the register of a marriage, or any troublesome inheritance of reputation. There are some hereditary strokes of character, by which a family may be as clearly distinguished as by the blackest features of the human face. Charles the First lived and died a hypocrite. Charles the Second

You have better proofs of your descent, my Lord, &c.] The first Duke of Grafton, was one of the natural sons of Charles the Second. He abandoned King James for King William, at an early hour in the progress of the revolution. His descendants have, ever since, adhered to revolution-principles, and to the party of Whigs. The father of the present Duke, was distinguished for gallantry and elegance among the Nobles in the Court of George the Second.

Charles the First lived and died a hypocrite.] Charles the First had defects of character, and was driven into errors of conduct. But his virtues have scarce been too highly praised by those who honour him as a martyr; and his abilities were scarcely inferior to those of any contemporary European King. Had the History of England ever yet been written by any person who sufficiently knew the facts, who was capable of viewing them with the eye of a philosopher,

was a hypocrite of another sort, and should have died upon the same scaffold. At the distance of a century, we see the different characters happily revived, and blended in your Grace. Sullen and severe without religion, profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles the Second, without being an amiable companion; and, for aught I know, may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr.

You had already taken your degrees with credit, in those schools in which the English nobility are formed to virtue, when you were introduced to Lord

who had no partialities of party to corrupt his judgment; it would, ere this time, have been universally known, as a sacred undeniable truth—that the progress of knowledge, of law, of industry, the continual accumulation of new property, and the growing power of public opinion, would, in spite of any tyrannical inclinations of the monarch, have established the liberties of Britain much sooner, and on a more solid basis, than by the civil war, the regicide, and the revolution; if the errors and selfish vices, not the intelligent patriotism, of the members of the Long Parliament, had not driven them into an armed opposition to the government of Charles the First; and if no other force than that of law, and of moderate, though not feeble parliamentary opposition, had ever been employed by the people in any contest with the king. How much more perfect had our government and legislature now been; how much greater our national wealth; how much more numerous our population; how much purer our virtue, and more exalted our intelligence; if no attempt had ever been made to improve our government by *force and unjust influence*, or by political information careless of the perfection of private intelligence, industry, and virtue!

Charles the Second was a hypocrite of another sort, &c.] JUNIUS seems to have conceived rightly of the character of Charles the Second. But, he shews too strong a propensity to associate the names of kings, with that of the scene of execution.

Chatham's protection*. From Newmarket, White's, and the opposition, he gave you to the world with an air of popularity, which young men usually set out with, and seldom preserve :—grave and plausible enough to be thought fit for business ; too young for treachery ; and, in short, a patriot of no unpromising expectations. Lord Chatham was the earliest object of your political wonder and attachment ; yet you deserted him, upon the first hopes that offered of an equal share of power with Lord Rockingham.

* To understand these passages, the reader is referred to a noted pamphlet, called, *The History of the Minority*.

Lord Chatham was the earliest object of your political wonder and attachment, &c.] The successions of administration, since the death of George the Second, have been before named ; but they may be, here, somewhat more particularly mentioned. The Earl of Bute became the colleague of Mr. Pitt, as Secretary of State, and succeeded the Duke of Newcastle, as First Lord of the Treasury. When Lord Bute retired, Mr. Grenville, with Lord Egremont and Lord Halifax, became the ostensible ministers. The parties of the Duke of Newcastle, and of Pitt and Lord Temple, were now both in opposition. Lord Egremont and the Earl of Granville died : and the Duke of Bedford and his friends were then introduced to the ministry. These ministers became disagreeable to their Sovereign ; and attempts were made by the Earl of Bute, by the Sovereign himself, by the Duke of Cumberland, to prevail with Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple, and Lord Lyttleton, to form a new ministry, and to occupy its principal places. These attempts were unsuccessful, because the Sovereign would not deliver himself up into the hands of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, so unconditionally as they required. Informed of the negotiations of Bute, and thinking that their failure left their Prince at their mercy, Bedford and his friends refused to remain in the administration, unless they should be permitted to dismiss from office those persons whom they supposed to depend, not on themselves, but on the Earl of Bute. That permission was, by the Duke of Bedford, extorted with indecent harshness from the King. Such

When the Duke of Cumberland's first negotiation failed, and when the favourite was pushed to the last extremity, you saved him, by joining with an administration in which Lord Chatham had refused to engage. Still, however, he was your friend: and

an insult to majesty was not to be tamely borne. A new negotiation was attempted; not with Mr. Pitt, but with the Whigs of the party of the late Duke of Newcastle, who now owned the Marquis of Rockingham as their political leader. It was on this occasion that the Duke of Grafton came first into ministerial employment. He was persuaded to accept, under the Marquis of Rockingham, the office of Secretary of State; not as a deserter from Mr. Pitt, but because that administration wished to act in concert with Mr. Pitt, and because the mutual friends of both desired and hoped to give it stability, by bringing about their entire union. But, the coalition could not be accomplished. The conduct of the Rockingham administration was guided, so far as their authority with the Sovereign and the parliament would permit, by the purest whiggism, and the most genuine constitutional principles. But, all the Grenvilles were combined against them. The Court saw, that they meant to restore the ancient reign of the Whigs, and again to proscribe the Tories: the people were dissatisfied, that they did not reverse all the unpopular acts of the ministry of Bute and Grenville; a change which their stipulations with the Court did not authorize; they had promised protection and compensation to Wilkes, which they could not now bestow. Disapproving their principles, or foreboding their fall, the Duke of Grafton resigned his office, and forsook the standard of Rockingham. In the administration soon after formed by Lord Chatham, he was, under that great man's patronage, appointed First Lord of the Treasury. When Lord Chatham withdrew in disgust, the Duke became the principal minister. His new connexions with the Duke of Bedford might seem, for a moment, to present a resemblance of the ancient power of the Pelhams. As a deserter from the Whig banners, he was abhorred, at this time, by the Whigs, even more, perhaps, than the most obnoxious of the Tories. Yet, in this progress of his earlier political life, there appears no singular turpitude, save what is created by the bold misrepresentations and the magic eloquence of JUNIUS.

you are yet to explain to the world, why you consented to act without him; or why, after uniting with Lord Rockingham, you deserted and betrayed him. You complained, that no measures were taken to satisfy your patron; and that your friend Mr. Wilkes, who had suffered so much for the party, had been abandoned to his fate. They have since contributed, not a little, to your present plenitude of power: yet, I think, Lord Chatham has less reason than ever to be satisfied; and as for Mr. Wilkes, it is, perhaps, the greatest misfortune of his life, that you should have so many compensations to make in the closet for your former friendship with him. Your gracious master understands your character; and makes you a persecutor, because you have been a friend.

Lord Chatham formed his last administration upon principles which you certainly concurred in, or you could never have been placed at the head of the Treasury. By deserting those principles, and by acting in direct contradiction to them, in which he found you were secretly supported in the closet, you soon forced him to leave you to yourself, and to withdraw his name from an administration which had been formed on the credit of it. You had then a prospect of friendships better suited to your genius, and more likely to fix your disposition. Marriage is the point on which every rake is stationary at last; and truly, my Lord, you may well be weary of the circuit you have taken, for you have now fairly travelled through every sign in the political zodiac, from the

Scorpion, in which you stung Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a Virgin* in the house of Bloomsbury. One would think that you had had sufficient experience of the frailty of nuptial engagements, or at least that such a friendship as the Duke of Bedford's might have been secured to you by the auspicious marriage of your late Duchess with† his nephew. But ties of this tender nature cannot be drawn too close: and it may possibly be a part of the Duke of Bedford's ambition, after making *her* an honest woman, to work a miracle of the same sort upon your Grace. This worthy nobleman has long dealt in virtue. There has been a large consumption of it in his own family; and, in the way of traffic, I dare say, he has bought and sold more than half the representative integrity of the nation.

In a political view, this union is not imprudent. The favour of princes is a perishable commodity. You have now a strength sufficient to command the closet; and, if it be necessary to betray one friendship more, you may set even Lord Bute at defiance. Mr. Stewart Mackenzie may possibly remember

* His Grace had lately married Miss Wrottesley, niece of the *Good Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford*.

† Miss Liddel, after her divorce from the Duke, married Lord Upper Ossory.

May set even Lord Bute at defiance.] What art and malignity! To impute to the Duke the unpopular friendship of Bute, and to represent him as ready to betray it!

Mr. Stewart Mackenzie, &c.] The brother of the Earl of Bute had been appointed Lord Privy Seal for Scotland. The Duke of Bedford, in concert with Mr. Grenville, had compelled the king to

what use the Duke of Bedford usually makes of his power; and our gracious Sovereign, I doubt not, rejoices at this first appearance of union among his servants. His late Majesty, under the happy influence of a family connexion between his ministers, was relieved from the cares of government. A more active prince may perhaps observe, with suspicion, by what degrees an artful servant grows upon his

give that office to Lord Frederick Campbell. They were dismissed; and Mr. Stewart Mackenzie was replaced.

Our gracious Sovereign, I doubt not, rejoices, &c.] In the attempt to break the strength of the Whig Aristocracy, and to introduce Whigs and Tories indifferently into the service of Government, it was not the smallest difficulty with which the Sovereign and his confidential counsellors had to strive, that the interests of the members of administration being ever at variance, and their prejudices and friends being mutually hostile, they could never be persuaded to act with that harmony of intentions which was wanted to give due consistency and vigour to the measures of their government. Hence, more perhaps than from any one other cause, that arrogance of the Citizens of London, which presumed to set not only the Executive Power but almost the whole Legislature at defiance. In the words which have suggested this note, JUNIUS hints at the discordancy which had so constantly prevailed, and at the dangerous union in which that discordancy might now perhaps be extinguished.

His late Majesty, &c.] The Walpoles and the Townshends, in the first part of the reign of George the Second, so surrounded him, as almost exclusively to engross the authority of his government. After they were driven from the administration, he fell into the hands of the Pelhams. The two brothers were cordially united between themselves; and their vast parliamentary interest enabled them to give the law to the King. JUNIUS would insinuate, that as much was to be dreaded from the family alliance between the Dukes of Grafton and Bedford.

A more active Prince may perhaps observe, &c.] These suggestions, to the end of the paragraph, evince an exact knowledge of the principles of human nature, and no undistinguishing acquaintance with the practice of ministers and of courts.

master, from the first unlimited professions of duty and attachment, to the painful representation of the necessity of royal service; and soon, in regular progression, to the humble insolence of dictating in all the obsequious forms of peremptory submission. The interval is carefully employed in forming connexions, creating interests, collecting a party, and laying the foundation of double marriages; until the deluded prince, who thought he had found a creature prostituted to his service, and insignificant enough to be always dependent upon his pleasure, finds him at last too strong to be commanded, and too formidable to be removed.

Your Grace's public conduct, as a minister, is but the counter-part of your private history;—the same inconsistency, the same contradictions. In America we trace you, from the first opposition to the Stamp Act, on principles of convenience, to Mr. Pitt's sur-

Double Marriages.] The double marriages, to which JUNIUS with wanton brutality of satire here alludes, were the marriages of the Duke of Grafton with the niece of the Duchess of Bedford, and of the lady whom he had divorced for infidelity to his bed, with her paramour, the nephew of the Duke.

The Stamp Act.] The American colonies had been settled under charters from the kings of England, granted in circumstances, and at times, when the monarch no longer possessed any constitutional right to exempt them from the jurisdiction of parliament. Where their charters did not assume the appearance of conveying such an exemption, it could, on no plausible pretence, be claimed. Even if any charter did attempt to establish an English colony, not subject to that sovereignty of England, which was legitimately composed of the King, the Lords, the Commons, and the fundamental laws of the Constitution; such a charter, however formally granted, and how-

render of the right; then forward to Lord Rockingham's surrender of the fact; then back again to Lord

ever sanctioned, was from the very first necessarily void. For a while, these colonies, distant and poor, did not engage the notice of the English legislature, as subjects of taxation. As furnishing raw materials for some of the useful arts; as opening a new market for British manufactures, and a new channel for British navigation; as a place of exile or refuge for the outcasts from Society at home; as affording the hopes of a vast future extension of wealthy and populous empire; America was valued and preserved: but, except upon extraordinary emergencies, it obtained, comparatively, little of the legislative attention of Britain. Its legislation was abandoned, in a great measure, to the provincial assemblies, acting under the presidency of governors, and upon the basis of their respective charters. If the different colonies could supply a revenue sufficient for the expenditure of their internal governments; there was nothing more expected from them in the way of direct pecuniary contribution. Duties levied at custom-houses in Britain, on exports to America, and on imports from it, were long the only revenue which Britain sought to derive, for public uses, from its colonies. In the meantime America, filled with population and wealth from the mother country, protected by its arms, enlightened and adorned by its knowledge and arts, arose to an importance in which it seemed to deserve every attention for its improvement, and every care for its defence. The French, masters of Canada, strove to check, ere it should be too late, the rising greatness of the American colonies of Britain. They encroached upon the British limits, and endeavoured to occupy posts, in the possession of which, they might gradually acquire power to dispossess or subjugate the British colonies at their pleasure. A persuasion of the infinite value of their American possessions, and a natural jealousy of the power and military ambition of the French, roused the British nation to arms. In a series of warlike contentions, prolonged, with some uncertain interruptions, for about the space of twenty years, Britain at length finally triumphed, and compelled the French to abandon North America. The nation were now fully aware of all the importance of the British empire in America; by the expenditure of revenue, the hazards, the toils, and the profusion of blood, which its defence had cost them. The poor

Rockingham's declaration of the right; then forward to taxation with Mr. Townshend; and in the last

were eager to emigrate to it: merchants contended who should form the most extensive commercial connexions with America: the crown looked naturally to these Colonies, now so important, for an increase of its own distinct authority both at home and abroad: those who were jealous for the general supremacy of the British legislature, thought it high time to establish this over the colonies, beyond the possibility of future dispute: there were others who thought, that America was drawing away to it, the wealth and population of Britain, to a degree that might prove fatal to the mother country; and that this exhaustion could not be too speedily checked: it was generally agreed, among all parties, that the colonies ought to bear a reasonable proportion of those burdens of pecuniary contribution, which their protection had unavoidably brought upon the mother country. Amid this diversity of views, it was proposed, during the administration of Mr. George Grenville, to establish, by a decisive act, the authority of the legislature over America, to draw from it a necessary addition to the public revenues of Britain, and to bring it into a state of obedience and dependency, in which the appointments of its government might serve to increase and support the influence of the crown. The famous *Stamp Act* was enacted. The duty which it gave could not be levied; the Americans were rushing into rebellion: the Whigs in opposition to the government eagerly availed themselves of a matter of so much importance; and, to give force to their own interested opposition, undertook the defence of the Americans. In spite, however, of all that they did, obedience to the *Stamp Act* might, perhaps, have been enforced, had it not been otherwise necessary to call the Rockingham Whigs into administration. The ministry which they composed and supported, repealed the Stamp Act; but, perhaps, more from respect to the wishes of others, than upon certain principles of their own, asserted the right of Britain to exact such taxes from its colonies. Mr. Pitt, with bolder whiggism, and perhaps, to gratify his friends of American connexion in London, if not on purpose to kindle up a flame that none but himself should be able to extinguish, denied that the legislature of Britain was supreme over America. But the Tories, the friends and partizans of Grenville, and almost all the old English landholders who were not entangled in the toils of Whig

instance, from the gentle Conway's undetermined discretion, to blood and compulsion with the Duke of Bedford: yet, if we may believe the simplicity of Lord North's eloquence, at the opening of next sessions you are once more to be the patron of America. Is this the wisdom of a great minister? or is it the ominous vibration of a pendulum? Had you no opinion of your own my Lord? or was it the gratification of betraying every party with which you have been united, and of deserting every political principle in which you had concurred?

Your enemies may turn their eyes without regret from this admirable system of provincial government.

connexion, were earnest both to maintain the right, and not to leave it longer unexerted and unenjoyed. The eloquent, but inconstant Charles Townshend, became one of the boldest advocates for the immediate taxation of the Americans. The trial was to be renewed, as soon as government could acquire sufficient vigour to pursue it with the hope of success. In the meantime, men's opinions were extremely uncertain upon the subject: and the question was argued with a keenness and a subtlety that might well make the most ingenuous minds to waver in their determination. Many circumstances seemed to point it out as more suitable, that the Americans should be free. But, under the constitutional laws of England, it was not less certain, that the colonies were justly subject to the supremacy of the British legislature. If, in these circumstances, the Duke of Grafton varied in his opinions concerning American subjection or dependency; this variation is not, of itself, to be fairly imputed either to weakness or dishonesty. Yet, it was natural, that such an adversary as JUNIUS should take advantage of it against him.

Is this the wisdom, &c.] Nothing can be more forcibly eloquent, or imply a deeper discernment into the weaknesses of human character, than this and the following interrogations, to the end of the paragraph.

They will find gratification enough in the survey of your domestic and foreign policy.

If, instead of disowning Lord Shelburne, the British court had interposed with dignity and firmness, you

Disowning Lord Shelburne, &c.] Lord Shelburne, now Marquis of Lansdown, is the descendant of the famous Sir William Petty. Petty, after receiving a regular education, entered into the medical profession; went to Ireland as a physician to the army; added to that, the profit of acting as a surveyor, in the new distribution of the forfeited lands; lived with a frugality which enabled him to save much from his emoluments; made large purchases in land at a low price; gained money by marriage; and left to his children a very large fortune, which his descendants have not yet dissipated. He was one of the most active members of the Royal Society in the end of the last century. He was a man of very diligent and accurate inquiry: and science and his country are very highly indebted to him. Few noble families in Britain, or any other country, can boast a founder so truly illustrious. His present representative has not degenerated from his worth. His first introduction into political life, was under the auspices of Lord Chatham. He studied science with Priestley. He affected to associate with Goldsmith, and the wits of that day; but could not win their fondness or respect. During the American war, he was a leader of the opposition. He is honoured as the able negotiator of the peace in which that war was terminated. At the death of Lord Rockingham, he wished to become the sole leader of the Whigs. The coalition overthrew his power. He has since been in a long opposition to government. His talents are universally respected; but he is reported, among politicians, to be not one of the least artful of mankind. On all great occasions, he attends in parliament; and his speeches are invariably distinguished by cogency of argument, and by a display of profound and extensive political knowledge. His eldest son, Lord Wycombe, is praised as a young nobleman who, in the course of his travels, distinguished himself by uncommon zeal, perseverance, and intrepidity, in the pursuit of useful knowledge. His second son, Lord Henry Petty, is said to discover, even in early youth, a splendor of talents, and a generous ardour of mind, which may one day raise him to the highest eminence in the political service of his country.

know, my Lord, that Corsica would never have been invaded. The French saw the weakness of a dis-

Corsica would never have been invaded.] The fate of Corsica has been remarkable. At the earliest period at which it was distinguished, as of any importance in the history of modern Europe, it was subject to the sovereignty of the Genoese, then a commercial and maritime people of great comparative wealth and power. Republics have been, generally, more tyrannical than monarchs, in their sway over dependent provinces. Under the dominion of the Genoese, the native Corsicans endured the most insolent and afflictive oppression. They were provoked to many particular acts of atrocious retaliation upon their oppressors, and even broke out, at several successive periods, into general revolt. At length, towards the middle of the present century, their resistance became too obstinate to be effectually overpowered by the declining strength of Genoa. But, as they were poor, rude, and in the act of emancipating themselves from an impotently imperious dominion, they degenerated, in the struggle for liberty, almost into a race of naked savages. None of the other states or Kings of Europe interposed, to aid and protect them: but a German adventurer, of the name of Nieuhoff, by giving them mysterious hopes of mighty foreign assistance, and by sacrificing his fortune and credit to their support, persuaded them to chuse him for their king. He could not fulfil his promises: the Genoese once more, to a certain degree, prevailed: and the most eminent among the patriot Corsicans were driven into exile. The revolt was again renewed and extended. A young hero, the illustrious Paoli, led his fellow-countrymen on to victory over the forces of Genoa, and endeavoured to bring them to obey the necessary restraints of civil order. All Europe beheld with admiration, the unconquered efforts of those brave islanders; and it was supposed, that Britain would surely assume the patronage of a spirit of freedom, so like her own. Rousseau was almost enticed to go and become the legislator of the Corsican Republic; James Boswell, to visit General Paoli, in that enthusiasm which made him ever more assiduous to become known to great men, than to use the fit means for becoming truly great himself. But, while neither policy nor honour could engage the British government to protect the liberties of Corsica; the Genoese transferred their pretensions to its

tracted ministry, and were justified in treating you with contempt. They would probably have yielded in the first instance, rather than hazard a rupture with this country; but, being once engaged, they cannot retreat without dishonour. Common sense foresees consequences, which have escaped your Grace's penetration. Either we suffer the French to make an acquisition, the importance of which you have probably no conception of; or we oppose them by an under-hand management, which only disgraces us in the eyes of Europe, without answering any purpose of policy or prudence. From secret, indirect assistance, a transition to some more open decisive measures becomes unavoidable; till at last we find ourselves principal in the war, and are obliged to hazard every thing for an object which might have originally been ob-

sovereignty, by a bargain, to the crown of France. What the Genoese could not effect, was easily achieved by the French troops: the liberties of the Corsicans were subdued: and their isle was added to the French dominions. Lord Shelburne had been educated in principles of whiggism, which disposed him to save Corsica from the grasp of France: but the ministers with whom he acted, beheld its fall with indifference. General Paoli found, however, an honourable asylum in Britain. The Corsicans had, amid their misfortunes, the happiness to experience, in the sway of France, a dominion much more civilizing, and less oppressive, than that of Genoa. Corsica was destined, afterwards, to share in the benefits and woe of the French revolution; to become the conquest of Britain; to be again wrested from her; to send out an adventurer who should rise to be, at least for a time, the ruler of the French empire; and to be again torn and wasted by intestine broils.

The French saw the weakness of a distracted ministry, &c.]
This and the five following periods bespeak a piercing and comprehensive political sagacity, such as even the greatest ministers and statesmen are but very rarely endowed with.

tained without expense or danger. I am not versed in the politics of the north; but this I believe is certain, that half the money you have distributed to carry the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, or even your secretary's share in the last subscription, would have kept the Turks at your devotion. Was it economy, my Lord? or did the coy resistance you have constantly met with in the British senate, make you despair of corrupting the Divan? Your friends indeed have the first claim upon your bounty; but if five hundred pounds a year can be spared in a pension to Sir John Moore, it would not have disgraced you to have allowed something to the secret service of the public.

You will say, perhaps, that the situation of affairs at home demanded and engrossed the whole of your attention. Here, I confess, you have been active. An amiable, accomplished prince, ascends the throne under the happiest of all auspices, the acclamations and united affections of his subjects. The first measures of his reign, and even the odium of a favourite, were not able to shake their attachment. *Your* services, my Lord, have been more successful. Since you were permitted to take the lead, we have seen the natural effects of a system of government at

Would have kept the Turks at your devotion, &c.] The influence of France was, at this time, greater than that of Britain, at the court of Constantinople. In the war between the Turks and the Russians, French officers were sent to discipline the Turks to the use of a system of tactics and an artillery, greatly superior to their own: and the Russians were, at the same time, enabled to equip formidable fleets, only by the instructions and the assistance of naval officers from Britain.

once both odious and contemptible. We have seen the laws sometimes scandalously relaxed, sometimes violently stretched beyond their tone. We have seen the person of the Sovereign insulted; and in profound peace, and with an undisputed title, the fidelity of his subjects brought by his own servants into public question*. Without abilities, resolution, or interest, you have done more than Lord Bute could accomplish with all Scotland at his heels.

Your Grace, little anxious perhaps either for present or future reputation, will not desire to be handed down in these colours to posterity. You have reason to flatter yourself, that the memory of your administration will survive even the forms of a constitution which our ancestors vainly hoped would be immortal; and as for your personal character, I will not, for the honour of human nature, suppose that you can wish to have it remembered. The condition of the present times is desperate indeed; but there is a debt due to those who come after us, and it is the historian's office to punish, though he cannot correct. I

* The wise Duke, about this time, exerted all the influence of government to procure addresses to satisfy the King of the fidelity of his subjects. They came in very thick from *Scotland*; but, after the appearance of this Letter, we heard no more of them.

Without abilities, &c.] There is, in this sentence, a degree of obscurity. It means, that the Duke of Grafton had made his Sovereign more odious than even Lord Bute and the Scots. It uses a language, as if it were wonderful that so mean a man should do so much. But there is an affected quaintness in the expression. For JUNIUS would insinuate that, in truth, the Duke must have been weak as well as wicked, otherwise he could not have served his Sovereign so unhappily.

do not give you to posterity as a pattern to imitate, but as an example to deter; and as your conduct comprehends every thing that a wise or honest minister should avoid, I mean to make you a negative instruction to your successors forever.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

The public had read the preceding Letter with all that eager curiosity and satisfaction, which the combination of reason, wit, and eloquence, with malignity and scandal, never fails to command.

The friends of the minister were irritated and confounded : his colleagues were alarmed : his enemies were delighted. Attempts were made, in various modes of address to the public, to vilify the character of JUNIUS'S stile and eloquence ; to refute his arguments ; to evince that his assertions of fact were maliciously false. His ability nowhere appears to greater advantage, than in this Letter, in which his former charges against the Duke of Grafton are vindicated and repeated. It is, if possible, adapted to its purpose even with more masterly force and propriety than the first which he addressed to Sir William Draper.

He was not a Milton, or a Salmasius, to forget the support of his facts or arguments in a vain solicitude for the defence of his style. Scornfully overlooking whatever critical censure had been thrown out upon it ; he, with the true art of a logician and an orator, confines himself to the shortest, the plainest, the most business-like, yet at the same time the most sentimental and forcible defence that could possibly be made, of the assertions and the inferences of his former Letter.

Long deductions and proofs could not suit his purpose. He knew a happier method of confounding his opponents, and impressing universal conviction. He is content to state his facts, singly, in succession, in the defying form of interrogation, and with a force of sentiment and a vivacity of address, to which it is impossible not to yield. He was aware that he should have the prejudices of a great part of his readers ready to support his arguments ; and he was well skilled to touch the master-keys by which all those prejudices might be waked, at once, to brisk activity. To give the greater weight and freedom to his defence, he appears, in this Let-

ter, not as JUNIUS himself, but as a PHILO-JUNIUS; a different person who was convinced by the reasonings of the former, and knew his facts not to be false.

SIR,

12. June, 1769.

THE Duke of Grafton's friends, not finding it convenient to enter into a contest with JUNIUS, are now reduced to the last melancholy resource of defeated argument, the flat general charge of scurrility and falsehood. As for his style, I shall leave it to the critics. The truth of his facts is of more importance to the public. They are of such a nature, that I think a bare contradiction will have no weight with any man who judges for himself. Let us take them in the order in which they appear in his last letter.

1. Have not the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution, been openly invaded, and the very name of an election made ridiculous, by the arbitrary appointment of Mr, Luttrell?

2. Did not the Duke of Grafton frequently lead his mistress into public, and even place her at the head of his table; as if he had pulled down an ancient temple of Venus, and could bury all decency and

As if he had pulled down an ancient temple of Venus, &c.] There is wit, and yet incongruity, with too studied an effort to be witty, in the use of this figure. Miss Parsons was no longer in the first bloom of youth, nor a woman of virtue; and she is, therefore, not unhappily compared to an old temple, and that an old temple of

shame under the ruins?—Is this the man who dares to talk of Mr. Wilkes's morals?

3. Is not the character of his presumptive ancestors as strongly marked in him, as if he had descended from them in a direct legitimate line? The idea of his death is only prophetic; and what is prophecy, but a narrative preceding the fact?

4. Was not Lord Chatham the first who raised him to the rank and post of a minister, and the first whom he abandoned?

5. Did he not join with Lord Rockingham, and betray him?

6. Was he not the bosom friend of Mr. Wilkes, whom he now pursues to destruction?

7. Did he not take his degrees with credit at Newmarket, White's and the opposition?

Venus. The Duke's making her his mistress, is compared to the pulling down of the old temple. His seating her to preside at his table, is represented as similar to the burying of decency and shame under the temple's ruins. It is in the last part of the figure, that the incongruity occurs. Even in the former part, the resemblance, though just, seems to have been found out with straining labour, and does not too easily meet the reader's intelligence. But JUNIUS, like the wits who wrote the metaphysical poetry of the last century, makes those daring efforts in the discovery of remote and hidden resemblances, and in the use of metaphors, which, if often transcendently happy, cannot however but prove, now and then, unsuccessful.

8. After deserting Lord Chatham's principles, and sacrificing his friendship, is he not now closely united with a set of men who, though they have occasionally joined with all parties, have, in every different situation, and at all times, been equally and constantly detested by this country ?

9. Has not Sir John Moore a pension of five hundred pounds a year?—This may probably be an acquittance of favours upon the turf; but is it possible for a minister to offer a grosser outrage to a nation, which has so very lately cleared away the beggary of the civil list at the expense of more than half a million?

10. Is there any one mode of thinking or acting, with respect to America, which the Duke of Grafton has not successively adopted and abandoned?

11. Is there not a singular mark of shame set upon this man, who has so little delicacy and feeling as to submit to the opprobrium of marrying a near relation of one who had debauched his wife?—In the name of decency, how are these amiable cousins to meet at their uncle's table?—It will be a scene in Oedipus, without the distress.—Is it wealth, or wit, or beauty, —or is the amorous youth in love?

It will be a scene in Oedipus, without the distress.] I should think that, except for the grossest and most vulgar minds among JUNIUS's readers, this frequent recurrence to the marriages, the divorce, and the mistresses of the Duke of Grafton, could not serve the writer's purpose. But it must be owned, that the allusion to the scenes of Oedipus, is wonderfully happy.

The rest is notorious. That Corsica has been sacrificed to the French; that, in some instances, the laws have been scandalously relaxed; and, in others, daringly violated; and that the King's subjects have been called upon to assure him of their fidelity in spite of the measures of his servants.

A writer, who builds his arguments upon facts such as these, is not easily to be confuted. He is not to be answered by general assertions, or general reproaches. He may want eloquence to amuse and persuade; but, speaking truth, he must always convince.

PHILO-JUNIUS.

LETTER XIV.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

THE defenders of the Duke of Grafton were not yet put to silence.

A Letter from one of them, with the signature of Old Noll, had gained insertion in the same paper in which the Letters of JUNIUS appeared. It attempted, with some share of new plausibility, to excuse what of the imputed errors of the Duke's private or political life could not be denied; and to present arguments of greater weight, than any that had been hitherto offered, in defence of the avowed, though obnoxious principles of his present administration. JUNIUS probably suspected this Letter to be the production, if not of the Duke himself, at least of Mr. Bradshaw, his secretary. He, therefore, thought proper to reply to it, at considerable length, chiefly by a renewed detail of his former facts and arguments.

From the very signature of Old Noll, he takes occasion to begin his Letter with new opprobria against the Duke of Grafton, on account of his descent from the House of Stuart; and to insinuate, in a manner well adapted to prepossess the mind of the reader, that the reasonings and pretences of his opponent were such, as rather to confirm the infamy, than vindicate the reputation, of the Duke. With a dexterity highly to be admired, he contrives to associate with the abuse of the Duke himself, that of the secretary, whom he supposed the author of the Letter of Old Noll. Old Noll had alleged, that two-thirds of the nation approved the fate of the Middlesex election; and that the lawyers of the highest authority had declared the exclusion of Wilkes, and the substitution of Luttrell, to be both acts constitutionally just. JUNIUS appeals boldly to the gentlemen of England for the refutation of the first of these assertions: and, in answer to the second, speaks contemptuously of the discernment and veracity of lawyers; hints at motives of dishonesty in those who had given their opinion in

favour of the reprobated conduct of parliament ; and denies that the most eminent had as yet decisively spoken.

The example of the English nobility had been mentioned, in excuse of the Duke of Grafton's immoralities. JUNIUS skilfully maintains, that a bad example, however common, could not be honourably imitated in an eminent station ; and declares, that it was not so much the Duke's vice, as his ostentatious effrontery in vice, that he wished to hold up to public abhorrence and scorn. Even the second marriage of his Grace, is here again reprobated by JUNIUS, as having been contracted in circumstances of the most inauspicious indelicacy. The friends whom the Duke had deserted, are, by the satirist, compared with those to whom he was now attached : and it is insinuated, that he had abandoned honour and ability, that he might cling to turpitude and weakness. He is, again, indignantly represented, as lavishing the public money, to relieve the deserved necessities of profligacy, not to supply the wants of indigent virtue. In the close of this Letter, the writer argues that, if the former political conduct of the Duke of Grafton had been weak, uncertain, and insincere, nothing better could be, with any strong probability, augured of him, for the time which was to come. This Letter has the signature of PHILO-JUNIUS : it was in answer to one that JUNIUS wished to represent, as if it were unworthy of his own particular notice.

SIR,

22. June, 1769.

THE name of *Old Noll* is destined to be the ruin of the house of Stuart. There is an ominous fatality in it, which even the spurious descendants of the family cannot escape. Oliver Cromwell had the merit of conducting Charles the First to the block. Your correspondent OLD NOLL appears to have the same design upon the Duke of Grafton. His arguments consist better with the title he has assumed,

than with the principles he professes: for, though he pretends to be an advocate for the Duke, he takes care to give us the best reason, why his patron should regularly follow the fate of his presumptive ancestor.—Through the whole course of the Duke of Grafton's life, I see a strange endeavour to unite contradictions which cannot be reconciled. He marries, to be divorced; he keeps a mistress, to remind him of conjugal endearments; and he chooses such friends, as it is virtue in him to desert. If it were possible for the genius of that accomplished president, who pronounced sentence upon Charles the First, to be revived in some modern sycophant*, his Grace, I doubt not, would by sympathy discover him among the dregs of mankind, and take him for a guide in those paths which naturally conduct a minister to the scaffold.

The assertion, that two-thirds of the nation approve of the *acceptance* of Mr. Luttrell (for even *Old*

The genius of that accomplished president, &c.] Bradshaw was the president of the Court of Regicides which condemned to death Charles the First: and a Mr. Bradshaw was the Duke of Grafton's confidential secretary. He had been an under-clerk in the War-Office. By his talents and faithful assiduity, he recommended himself to promotion. He attained to high second-rate official eminence under the Duke of Grafton. Elated by this success, he launched out into a style of living, ostentatious and expensive, above even what his emoluments would support. When the Duke retired from the Treasury, the reward of Mr. Bradshaw's services was only a pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. It was altogether unequal to his wants and wishes. In disappointment and despair, he ended his life with a pistol.

* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the name of *Bradshaw*.

Noll is too modest to call it an election) can neither be maintained nor confuted by argument. It is a point of fact, on which every English gentleman will determine for himself. As to lawyers, their profession is supported by the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong; and, I confess, I have not that opinion of their knowledge and integrity, to think it necessary that they should decide for me upon a plain constitutional question. With respect to the appointment of Mr. Luttrell, the Chancellor has never yet given any authentic opinion. Sir Fletcher Norton is indeed an honest, a very honest man; and the Attorney General is, *ex-officio*, the guardian of liberty; to take care, I presume, that it shall never break out into a criminal excess. Doctor Blackstone is Solicitor to

The Chancellor.] Lord Camden was then Chancellor.

Sir Fletcher Norton.] This great lawyer had been accustomed to act with the Whigs. But he had, a few months before the date of this letter, entered into strict official connexion with the Whigs and Tories, who were imperfectly combined under the ministry of the Duke of Grafton. On the 19th of February 1769, he was appointed Chief Justice in Eyre, with a salary of three thousand pounds; and on the 22d of March, immediately subsequent, he was nominated a Privy Counsellor. It is with sly irony, that JUNIUS here speaks of his honesty.

The Attorney General.] Mr. De Grey, afterwards Lord Walsingham, was at this time Attorney General.

Doctor Blackstone.] Of no lawyer is the reputation purer, or more truly illustrious, than that of Sir William Blackstone. He had made a distinguished proficiency in every classical and liberal study, but especially in that of the Common Law of England, when he conceived, about the year 1753, the design of reading, at Oxford, a course of academical lectures upon this interesting branch of juridical science. In this undertaking, he was greatly encouraged by

the Queen. The Doctor recollected that he had a place to preserve, though he forgot that he had a

the members of the University; and Oxford was, throughout the kingdom, esteemed to have become more eligible as a place for the education of young English gentlemen, since the lectures of Mr. Blackstone, there, offered them opportunity to receive instruction, as well in the first principles of the laws of their country, as in the wonted classical and philosophical studies. In the year 1756, Mr. Viner dying, left an ample benefaction to promote the study of law in that University: and, in consequence of his bequest, a public lectureship on the laws of England was soon after instituted, at Oxford; and Mr. Blackstone was appointed the first lecturer. The Vinerian Lectures were, accordingly, opened on the 25th of October 1758: and he read, with great applause, that system of lectures which he afterwards made public, under the title of "Commentaries on the Laws of England." The approbation with which they were heard, at Oxford, was followed by the still more valuable, because warmer, more universal, and more discriminating applause of the whole nation, when these Commentaries were, in the end of the year 1765, delivered to the world from the press. From Oxford, with the high reputation his lectures had gained him, he came to practise before the courts. He failed not to attain to great distinction, as a counsellor. He had taken the degree of Doctor in the Civil Law; and, being a Whig, he attained, under the patronage of the Whigs, to the appointment of Solicitor to the Queen. As his authority was highly valued among the noblemen and gentlemen to whom his book had, for the first time, presented the laws of England in a truly popular and elegant form; it appeared to be of infinite importance for ministry to procure the sanction of his opinion, in favour of the appointment of Mr. Luttrell to represent the county of Middlesex in parliament, although he was nominated by only a very small minority of the freeholders. No perfectly similar case had occurred before the composition of Blackstone's Commentaries: nor had the doctor foreseen that such a case might probably arise. The authority of his book was, therefore, judged to be adverse to the decision that was demanded from the House of Commons: yet the doctor hastily gave his opinion against the rights of the electors of Middlesex. His own book was, by his opponents, indignantly quot-

reputation to lose. We have now the good fortune to understand the Doctor's principles, as well as writings. For the defence of truth, of law, and reason, the Doctor's book may be safely consulted; but whoever wishes to cheat a neighbour of his estate, or to rob a country of its rights, need make no scruple of consulting the Doctor himself.

The example of the English nobility may, for aught I know, sufficiently justify the Duke of Grafton, when he indulges his genius in all the fashionable excesses of the age; yet, considering his rank and station, I think it would do him more honour to be able to deny the fact, then to defend it by such authority. But if vice itself could be excused, there is yet a certain display of it, a certain outrage to decency, and violation of public decorum, which, for the benefit of society, should never be forgiven. It is not that he kept a mistress at home, but that he constantly

ed against himself; and JUNIUS was provoked to attack him with a bitterness, in which eloquence seems to degenerate into vulgar abuse. He was afterwards knighted, and made one of the judges of the Common Pleas. His Commentaries, as the best Institute that has ever yet been formed of the laws of England, have raised his name to honours not inferior to those which still attend the memory of a Tribonian and an Ulpian.

But if vice itself could be excused, &c.] This and the following periods, to the end of the paragraph, compose a passage in which the delicate and exact discrimination of JUNIUS, as a moralist, is remarkably evinced. There is in the impudent ostentation of vice, an insolent hostility to virtue, that makes vice itself doubly odious. The fact relative to the leading of Miss Parsons in triumph, in the presence of the Queen, deserved, if it were true, even sharper reprobation than that with which JUNIUS here mentions it.

attended her abroad.—It is not the private indulgence, but the public insult, of which I complain. The name of Miss Parsons would hardly have been known, if the First Lord of the Treasury had not led her in triumph through the Opera House, even in the presence of the Queen. When we see a man act in this manner, we may admit the shameless depravity of his heart, but what are we to think of his understanding?

His Grace, it seems, is now to be a regular domestic man; and, as an omen of the future delicacy and correctness of his conduct, he marries a first cousin of the man who had fixed that mark and title of infamy upon him, which, at the same moment, makes a husband unhappy and ridiculous. The ties of consanguinity may possibly preserve him from the same fate a second time; and as to the distress of meeting, I take for granted, the venerable uncle of these common cousins has settled the etiquette in such a manner, that if a mistake should happen, it may reach no farther than from *Madame ma femme* to *Madame ma cousine*.

The Duke of Grafton has always some excellent reason for deserting his friends.—The age and incapacity of Lord Chatham;—the debility of Lord Rock-

If a mistake should happen, it may reach no farther, &c.] JUNIUS is here more malignant than witty. This is one of those very few instances, in these Letters, in which his experiments in wit blunder into nonsense.

The age and incapacity of Lord Chatham.] Lord Chatham having, from early life, suffered much by the gout, was at this time, in

ingham;—or the infamy of Mr. Wilkes. There was a time, indeed, when he did not appear to be quite so well acquainted, or so violently offended, with the infirmities of his friends. But now, I confess, they are not ill exchanged for the youthful, vigorous virtue, of the Duke of Bedford;—the firmness of General Conway;—the blunt, or if I may call it, the awkward integrity of Mr. Rigby;—and the spotless morality of Lord Sandwich.

particular, exceedingly afflicted with it. But he had often opportunities to shew, after this period, that the vigour of his mind remained unconquered by the infirmities of his body. To the last, he was able to shake the senate, even with more energetic and impressive eloquence, than in the first pride and ambition of his youth.

Mr. Rigby.] This gentleman had the good fortune to recommend himself, on a particular occasion, to the friendship of the Duke of Bedford. He was introduced by that nobleman to be the leader of his dependents in the House of Commons, and to occupy, under his auspices, some of the most lucrative secondary places in the service of Government. When the Duke went to administer the government of Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, Mr. Rigby accompanied him as his Secretary. His services were rewarded with the appointments of *Master of the Rolls*, and *one of the Vice-Treasurers*, for that kingdom; of which, together, the emoluments amounted to about four thousand six hundred pounds a year. He adhered steadily to the interests of his patron, amid all the subsequent changes in the court and ministry. In June 1768, he obtained, by the Duke of Bedford's influence, the lucrative appointment of Paymaster of the British forces. He was, at the time when this Letter was written, one of the boldest and most active supporters of the administration which JUNIUS aspired to overthrow. During the American war, he continued to approve himself, in the House of Commons, the firm and unabashed advocate of the measures of government. He was fond of the enjoyments of gay conviviality; and, by his cheerfulness and broad humour, made himself a very acceptable companion to those with whom he was wont to associate in the hours of convivial indulgence.

If a late pension to a* broken gambler be an act worthy of commendation, the Duke of Grafton's connexions will furnish him with many opportunities of doing praise-worthy actions; and as he himself bears no part of the expense, the generosity of distributing the public money for the support of virtuous families in distress will be an unquestionable proof of his Grace's humanity.

As to public affairs, *Old Noll* is a little tender of descending to particulars. He does not deny that Corsica has been sacrificed to France; and he confesses that, with regard to America, his patron's measures have been subject to some variation: but then he promises wonders of stability and firmness for the future. These are mysteries, of which we must not pretend to judge by experience; and truly, I fear we shall perish in the Desert, before we arrive at the Land of Promise. In the regular course of things, the period of the Duke of Grafton's ministerial manhood should now be approaching. The imbecility of his infant state was committed to Lord Chatham. Charles Townshend took some care of his

* Sir John Moore.

I fear, we shall perish in the Desert, before we arrive at the Land of Promise.] These words seem to imply, that it was possible to arrive at the Land of Promise, after perishing in the Desert. The expression is, therefore, a bull or Iricism. But Englishmen and Scotsmen are liable, as well as Irishmen, to commit blunders of this sort, in speaking and writing.

Charles Townshend.] This gentleman was a grandson of Lord Townshend, the brother-in-law of Sir Robert Walpole, and brother to the present Marquis of Townshend. He was introduced into parliamentary life, and to the pursuits of political business, under the

education at that ambiguous age, which lies between the follies of political childhood, and the vices of puberty. The empire of the passions soon succeed-

auspices of Henry the father of Charles Fox, and of the Pelhams. He was one of the most captivating speakers that had ever been listened to in the House of Commons, and was reckoned to want nothing but steadiness of opinion and conduct, in order to outstrip all his contemporaries in the career of political usefulness and success. After a course of previous experience in parliamentary business, he was, for a time, Secretary at War, under the administration of the Earl of Bute, in the year 1762. He soon after abandoned that ministry, while their difficulties were thickening around them. He was not, however, at first, violent in condemning the conditions of the peace. On the famous question concerning the legality of General Warrants, he voted against the Ministry: and an eloquent pamphlet, intitled, *A Defence of the Minority in the House of Commons, on the Question of General Warrants*, was the production of his pen. He was introduced into administration, under Lord Chatham, in the year 1766, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He published, under the title of *The State of the Nation in the years 1766 and 1767*, a pamphlet, consisting solely of exact copies of the public accounts of the government for these years. He died on the 4th of September, in the year 1767. David Hume mentions him, in a Letter to Adam Smith, as the *cleverest fellow in England*. He was so charmed with the perusal of Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, that he immediately resolved to honour himself by the patronage of the author. He had married the Countess Dowager of Dalkeith, Lady Greenwich, mother to the present Duke of Buccleugh: and he had, by consequence, considerable authority in the direction of that young nobleman's education. He invited Mr. Smith from the university of Glasgow, to accompany the Duke on his travels, upon conditions which assured to the philosopher an amply competent independence of fortune for his future life. He was honoured with a noble encomium by Edmund Burke: and his death was sensibly felt as a loss by the whole House of Commons. It was while he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Duke of Grafton First Lord of the Treasury, that he proposed a new plan for the taxation of America; and that the Duke might be regarded as being, in some sort, the pupil of his politics.

ed. His earliest principles and connexions were of course forgotten or despised. The company he has lately kept has been of no service to his morals ; and, in the conduct of public affairs, we see the character of his time of life strongly distinguished. An obstinate, ungovernable self-sufficiency, plainly points

An obstinate, ungovernable self-sufficiency, &c.] Here is another of those masterly, and not trite remarks on human nature, which bespeak the experience, the keen observation, and the habitually deep thought, of the author of these Letters. When youth first enters among the ranks of manhood, it becomes conscious of powers of manly intellect which it has not yet tried, and begins to assume the authority to judge of those to whom it has hitherto looked up with submissive veneration ; a change so considerable never fails to make it estimate its own powers by much too highly, and judge too contemptuously of the abilities of others. It measures its own talents, by the wild, gigantic greatness of its hopes and wishes : it judges of the genius of others, by the inferiority of what they have attained, to that which it fondly expects for itself : in censuring works which are not its own, it condemns with passion whatever accords not with its own delusive views of the good, the true, the just, the beautiful, and the great, in the opening scene of things. Such, in entering upon manhood, is the effect to every ardent, youthful mind. In its farther progress, one of these three events ever takes place ; and three great classes of characters consequently arise in society :—*Either* the young man never becomes sensible of his first error ; and, in this case, he passes through life, pert, ignorant, presumptuous, self-sufficient, of all men the silliest, yet fancying himself to be of all men the wisest, and ever scorning the means of improvement, because he supposes every thing in himself to be already perfect beyond the possibility of being improved : *Or*, he is humbled by the discovery of his error, to a degree of abashment and despair which makes him relinquish all thoughts of rising above the common level of mankind, content himself with being quite an ordinary character, and descend to the practice of every little, sordid, and disingenuous art : *Or*, perceiving his error, refusing to disclaim the hopes he had founded on it, and learning how much is by uncon-

out to us that state of imperfect maturity, at which the graceful levity of youth is lost, and the solidity of experience not yet acquired. It is possible the young man may in time grow wiser, and reform; but, if I understand his disposition, it is not of such corrigible stuff, that we should hope for any amendment in him, before he has accomplished the destruction of this country. Like other rakes, he may perhaps live to see his error, but not until he has ruined his estate.

PHILO-JUNIUS.

querable perseverance to be surmounted and achieved, he still cherishes his first generous ambition, employs those means which are the fittest to crown it with success, and by unwearied exertion, and the most candid arts, rises to be numbered among the best and greatest of mankind.

LETTER XV.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

THE party of the Marquis of Rockingham and the Duke of Newcastle, had reconciled themselves to that of Pitt and the Grenvilles. Earl Chatham, after trying, in vain, to acquire the entire confidence of George the Third, as he once conquered that of George the Second, saw himself reduced into a dependency which he disdained, upon great parliamentary connexions. Charles Townshend had been cut off by death, amid great schemes which he was hastening into accomplishment, in order to supplant his fellows and rivals, and to gain himself the place of First Minister. The citizens of London, and the freeholders of Middlesex, continuing firm in their attachment to Mr. Wilkes, supported him in the confinement to which he had been condemned, raised him to the dignity of an Alderman, and were preparing to pay his debts, and to make him one of the Sheriffs for the county. The Duke of Bedford's party had, after a multitude of cabals and negotiations, returned, out of the late opposition, into connexion with the Court. By their coalition with the Duke of Grafton, and with those who were supposed to be still more confidentially the friends of the King, the Whigs were hindered from becoming masters of the cabinet; the emancipation of America was delayed; the hope of a redress of those grievances which arose from the irregular prosecution of Wilkes, was still disappointed; and Scots and Tories were still fortified in their strong holds, or cherished in their lurking places about the Court. Even the eloquence, and the political sagacity of JUNIUS, however powerfully exerted, and however severely felt, could not accomplish more than the petitions of the Livery of London, in obliging the Sovereign to alter his plan of government, or in compelling the present ministers to retire, and make room for the Whigs. Hence the populace, the agitators in London, JUNIUS himself, and especially the grand phalanx of the Whigs, accounting themselves invincible, since they were at length united,

were now preparing to storm the fortresses of administration more vigorously than ever before ; and expected, that perseverance and increased activity, would not fail to crown their efforts, in the end, with full success. This Letter, fiercely renewing the general attack on the Duke of Grafton, appears to have been written with these views. The last Session of Parliament had closed on the 9th of May ; and it might seem to be, in a particular manner, the business of JUNIUS, to maintain the warfare with ministry, while the parliamentary exertions of his friends were, in the recess, necessarily interrupted.

This Letter descends not into any minute detail of facts ; but only employs a strain of general expostulation and invective ; and reviews, in a manner that the minister and his friends might well understand, the whole series of those contentions between the Crown and the Whig Aristocracy, which had occasioned so many changes of administration, and had been prolonged ever since the beginning of the present reign. It dwells, particularly, on that which was now the grand subject of anxiety and clamour among the patriots of London and Middlesex ; the illegal appointment of Luttrell to represent that county in parliament. It boasts, of the boldness of the petitions from the City of London ; and threatens a resistance that should, at length, compel the Sovereign to relinquish his present plans of government, and should drive the minister into disgraceful retirement, without the remembrance of one great or good act of administration, to support his mind under public infamy, or sooth the anguish of his disappointed ambition. Even in this Letter, JUNIUS does not yet descend into deep and close argumentation on the subject of the Middlesex election. Perhaps he had not yet made himself sufficiently master of the subject ; perhaps he might fear, lest the dryness of argumentation should not well accord with that popular eloquence which created his fame ; or, it may be, that he was willing to let the argumentative part of the controversy take its free course somewhat farther, before he should decisively interpose, on the principle which it well accorded with his pride to adopt of—*Neu Deus intersit, nil dignus, vindice nodus.*

MY LORD,

8. *July*, 1769.

IF nature had given you an understanding qualified to keep pace with the wishes and principles of your heart, she would have made you, perhaps, the most formidable minister that ever was employed under a limited monarch, to accomplish the ruin of a free people. When neither the feelings of shame, the reproaches of conscience, nor the dread of punishment, form any bar to the designs of a minister ; the people would have too much reason to lament their condition, if they did not find some resource in the weakness of his understanding. We owe it to the bounty of Providence, that the completest depravity of the heart is sometimes strangely united with a confusion of the mind, which counteracts the most favourite principles, and makes the same man treacherous without art, and a hypocrite without deceiving. The measures, for instance, in which your Grace's activity has been chiefly exerted, as they were adopted without skill, should have been conducted with more than common dexterity. But truly, my Lord, the execution has been as gross as the design. By one decisive step, you have defeated

By one decisive step, you have defeated all the arts of writing.] Writing can be employed, with propriety, against none but beings who are capable of rational design, and still prefer the appearance of good to that of evil. JUNIUS, in this sentence, alleges, that there was, in the measures of the minister against whom he inveighs, an ostentatious wickedness, and an unintelligent audacity, which defied the exaggeration of the satirist, and were not to be touched by his censures.

all the arts of writing. You have fairly confounded the intrigues of opposition, and silenced the clamours of faction. A dark, ambiguous system, might require and furnish the materials of ingenious illustration; and, in doubtful measures, the virulent exaggeration of party must be employed, to rouse and engage the passions of the people. You have now brought the merits of your administration to an issue, on which every Englishman, of the narrowest capacity, may determine for himself. It is not an alarm to the passions, but a calm appeal to the judgment of the people, upon their own most essential interests. A more experienced minister would not have hazarded a direct invasion of the first principles of the constitution, before he had made some progress in subduing the spirit of the people. With such a cause as yours, my Lord, it is not sufficient that you have the court at your devotion, unless you can find means to corrupt or intimidate the jury. The collective body of the people form that jury, and from *their* decision there is but one appeal.

Whether you have talents to support you at a crisis of such difficulty and danger, should long since have been considered. Judging truly of your disposition, you have perhaps mistaken the extent of your capacity. Good faith and folly have so long been received

A direct invasion of the first principles of the constitution.] By the decision, invalidating those votes of the electors of Middlesex which had been given for Mr. Wilkes, in opposition to Mr. Luttrell.

as synonymous terms, that the reverse of the proposition has grown into credit, and every villain fancies himself a man of abilities. It is the apprehension of your friends, my Lord, that you have drawn some hasty conclusion of this sort, and that a partial reliance upon your moral character has betrayed you beyond the depth of your understanding. You have now carried things too far to retreat. You have plainly declared to the people what they are to expect from the continuance of your administration. It is time for your Grace to consider what you also may expect in return from *their* spirit and *their* resentment.

Since the accession of our most gracious Sovereign to the throne, we have seen a system of government,

Since the accession of our most gracious Sovereign, &c.] It is necessary, that the reader, who wishes to be instructed by the truths in these Letters, without being misled by their prejudices and errors, should in his perusal of them hold the following principles and facts steadily present in his mind—

1. The plan of the breaking down of the great Whig Aristocracy, by selecting ability and loyalty from among both Whigs and Tories, did not begin with Lord Bute, but was conceived and arranged by Bolingbroke; was imperfectly carried into effect, in the opposition guided by Mr. Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, and Lord Carteret; occasioned, in the struggle between its supporters and opposers, all that uncertainty and weakness of government, which prevailed from the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, till the Pelhams were fully established in ministerial power; was renewed by Mr. Pitt in 1758, after the Whig Aristocracy had made themselves equally odious and contemptible, by corruption, tyranny, and misfortunes, the fruits of male-administration; had, in truth, been first exemplified by Lord Clarendon, after the Restoration, and with a still more exact similitude of circumstances, by King William, after the Revolution.

which may well be called a reign of experiments. Parties of all denominations have been employed and

2. The Earl of Bute, in his attempt to carry this plan into effectual and permanent accomplishment, erred in nothing so much, as in not gaining Mr. Pitt for his confidential friend and ally. Pitt hated the great Whig Aristocracy, which had ever scowled on his talents, and thwarted, by every artifice, his attempts to rise, by eloquence and virtue, above the native humility of his fortune. He courted the Tories of Leicester House ; and desired nothing better, than to set himself at the head of a body of mingled Whigs and Tories, by which the Aristocracy, that had oppressed him, might be overthrown. Having gained the entire confidence of George the Second, who had before long regarded him with aversion, Pitt learned to value himself on cultivating the personal favour of his Sovereign, not less than on commanding the admiration and attachment of the mob. Had the King, had Lord Bute, but treated him with free, unbounded confidence, he would, without doubt, have entered cordially into their new plan of combining and balancing parties ; and it might have been accomplished, without occasioning that long weakness of government, which ensued in the prosecution of it without Pitt's aid. It was the conceit of ability which he possessed not ; it was a jealousy incompatible with the true enlargement and grandeur of soul ; it was a servitude to sordid interests and petty prejudices, that made Bute to irritate Pitt to resignation, instead of courting, in happy hour, his confidential friendship. This was the capital error of Bute. He meant well ; he was not the weakest of men : yet, he was *but* a man. When it was too late, he strove to regain, to his Sovereign, the cordial service of Pitt. Even then, however, there were in his advances a hesitation, an uncertainty, a duplicity, which Pitt's penetration could not fail to detect, and which his generous nature must of necessity abhor.

3. In the first dissociation of the Whigs from the Tories ; in the counterpoise of those two parties in the reign of William ; in their alternate success under Anne ; in the triumph of the Whigs, during the two first reigns of the House of Hanover ; in the efforts of St. John, of Pitt, of Bute, to displace them ; and in the consummation of Tory ascendancy under the ministry of the Son of Chatham ; *the*

dismissed. The advice of the ablest men in this country has been repeatedly called for and rejected;

operation of general and permanent causes is conspicuously remarkable ; causes originating in the first principles of human nature, and in the fundamental composition of society,—predominating over all those secondary causes to which narrow-minded courtiers, patriots, politicians, party-writers, and historians, have with the blindness of a fly pretending to judge of the proportions of a spacious edifice, attributed all the fluctuation and changes in the government and policy of Britain,—making ministers, mistresses, patriots and favourites, even mighty and caballing parliamentary parties, all alike, but funny instruments, whose agency was guided to fulfil the order of nature and of social life. The elements must necessarily have mingled with attractions and repulsions such as they have displayed, even though not one of the particular agents had ever existed, to whose talents or artifices every political change has been hastily ascribed.

4. During the long supremacy of the Whigs, both the *Executive* and the *Legislative Powers* had made encroachments upon the rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution. These had, indeed, been in part counterbalanced by the growing ascendancy of Public Opinion, the voice of which had begun to be generally listened to, and obeyed, by both the Crown and the Parliament. Yet was it not unfortunate, that the seditious audacity of Wilkes, the struggles of the followers of the parties of the Duke of Newcastle and of the Grenvilles, with the imprudence equally of Lord Halifax and his coadjutors in respect to General Warrants, and of the Duke of Grafton's ministry in regard to the Middlesex election, stirred up an opposition against Whig abuses, under the pretence of their having originated with the Tories, by which those abuses were, in good time, to be checked, and in the end to be entirely suppressed. In the opposition to Jacobite rebellion, and under the splendid administration of Pitt, *General Warrants* had been illegally employed by the Whigs : and in the great, though not unhappy, parliamentary usurpation, that substituted Septennial for Triennial elections, there existed, *substantially*, the true precedent of the decision in the case of the Middlesex election. It was

and when the Royal displeasure has been signified to a minister, the marks of it have usually been pro-

time, for the safety of the Crown and the Constitution, that such encroachments should be checked. They could not have been effectually checked, if it had not been for that opposition, both in parliament and among the people, in support of which these Letters of JUNIUS were written.

5. It does not appear, that any one of the parties in the opposition, from the year 1760, to the year 1770, had thoroughly studied any thing, but their private and party interests and caprices, of all that was in dispute. *They had no principles thoroughly understood; and, because thoroughly understood, therefore not to be abandoned.* The great utilities of government and society, impelled them along in a course in which Whigs and Tories might cordially move on together. But here they were, in some sort, unconscious agents: as to all else, what they called their principles continually yielded to their interests and passions. The peace of 1763, certainly an unwise and unfortunate one, was *at first* almost unanimously approved by all but Mr. Pitt. Even of the persecution of Wilkes, almost all, in their turn, approved, at least so far as not to make his acquittal a condition without which they would not act with government. In regard to the taxation of the Americans, it is evident from the whole conduct of all parties, that there was, *in truth*, no real dispute, except as to the possibility of carrying it into easy execution. Wilkes was no sincere patriot. His spirit delighted in bold contention; and he desired to make his fortune. This was the sum of his patriotism: and yet, he happened to exhibit more remarkable steadiness, and to be the instrument of greater good to the constitution, than was effected by all the cabals, and all the parliamentary eloquence, of the higher members of the opposition. The patriot citizens of London, had as little of virtue and intelligence in their opposition, as the parliamentary leaders. The agitators who stirred them into action, were men actuated by the basest and most absurd motives. The mob were themselves inspired by prejudice, ignorance, and low insolence.

6. There was much of weakness, of narrowness, of mean artifice, of weak timidity, and of blundering rashness, in the system of the

portioned to his abilities and integrity. The spirit of the FAVOURITE had some apparent influence upon

court itself. In principle, and in its first leading views, it was considerably in the right. In almost all else, it was in the wrong. The virtue and ability of the Sovereign himself, together with the insuperable necessities of government, seem to have contributed much more than the skill or honesty of any of his secret counsellors, to avert that ruin which the weakness of the government, and the strength of the opposition, too long threatened.

7. What the Whigs, who complained of a *secret influence at court*, continually demanded, was, *in fact*, that the *King should never presume to think or speak of any one concern of his government, except in their presence, and in implicit submission to their controul*. These were the conditions to which they strove to reduce their Sovereign. Chiefly by their own mutual treachery, were they disappointed.

8. At the time when these Letters were written, Lord Chatham, Lord Temple, the Marquis of Rockingham, and Mr. George Grenville, acted in union. They believed it impossible, that their strength should not prevail; and they were using every possible effort to take by storm, the strong holds of the administration. They had mutually vowed, never more to suffer themselves to be disunited by the practices of their adversaries. But, their engagements and resolutions were, *happily*, not of a nature to resist the first splendid temptations of avarice or ambition.

9. From all this, it follows, that the Duke of Grafton was not, in politics and patriotism, a worse man than the other conspicuous leaders, whether of the ministry, or of the opposition.

The spirit of the FAVOURITE, &c.] It is, really, probable, that Lord Bute long cherished an ambition of ruling in secret. The termination of his influence in the closest might be gradual. He would unavoidably detach his thoughts still more and more from matters of political arrangement, while he was absent from the theatre of affairs, with a resolution no more to return upon it. His Sovereign, obliged to listen to the counsels of others, and accustomed to act by their advice, would insensibly learn to act without reference to the opinions of Bute. In truth, time and habit could not but, in the end, accomplish whatever the Whigs had striven to do by violence.

every administration; and every set of ministers preserved an appearance of duration, as long as they submitted to that influence. But there were certain services to be performed for the Favourite's security, or to gratify his resentments, which your predecessors in office had the wisdom or the virtue not to undertake. The moment this refractory spirit was discovered, their disgrace was determined, Lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Rockingham, have successively had the honour to be dismissed for preferring their duty, as servants to the public, to those compliances which were expected from their station. A submissive administration was at last gradually collected from the deserters of all parties, interests, and connexions; and nothing remained, but to find a leader for those gallant, well disciplined troops. Stand forth, my Lord, for thou art the man. Lord

And, had it not been for causes more permanent than the advice of a favourite, or minister, even the plan of policy which began with the reign, and has been happily established, would have been of necessity long since exploded.

Lord Chatham, &c.] Lord Chatham was certainly dismissed, because neither the Earl of Bute, nor the Duke of Newcastle, could brook his imperious talents, even when they saw that he was in the right. Mr. Grenville, and his official co-adjutors, were dismissed, because it was thought that they wanted strength to do the parliamentary business of the crown, and because they had treated their Sovereign with an indecent insolence, not to be borne even by the meanest subject from his superior. The Marquis of Rockingham's party were dismissed, because they were untrue to one another, because they attempted to govern with a purity of Whiggism almost refined to democracy, because they seemed to be rapidly fortifying themselves in a parliamentary and a ministerial power that threatened to renew the reign of the Pelhams.

Bute found no resource of dependence or security in the proud, imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the shrewd, inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville, nor in the mild but determined integrity

Lord Bute found no resource, &c.] It was believed, that the most friendly and confidential alliance now subsisted between Lord Bute and the Duke of Grafton. The Duke was likewise supposed to have accomplished an entire reconciliation between Bute and the Duke of Bedford, who had been at variance almost ever since the latter returned from negotiating the peace of Paris. Such heinous demerits necessarily made the Duke of Grafton extremely odious to the Whigs.

The shrewd inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville.] This gentleman was a younger brother of Lord Temple, and brother-in-law to Lord Chatham. He was born in the year 1712. He studied law, and was called to the bar. But his friends judged that his talents were formed to shine in the senate, and in political business; and he was, therefore, under the patronage of his mother's brother, the Lord Cobham celebrated by Pope, introduced into the House of Commons. In parliament, he acted with his elder brother, afterwards Earl Temple, with Mr. Pitt, and Sir George Lyttleton. His first official appointment was, in the year 1744, to an inferior seat at the Board of Admiralty. In the year 1749, he contracted a Tory alliance, by marrying the daughter of Sir William Wyndham, the friend of Bolingbroke, and long the leader of the Tory part of the Opposition. During the glorious administration of Mr. Pitt, in the end of the reign of George the Second, Mr. Grenville was Treasurer to the Navy. When Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple retired abruptly from office, George Grenville was detained, and persuaded to co-operate with his brother-in-law, the Earl of Egremont, under the banners of Lord Bute. He became one of the Secretaries of State, in May 1762, when Bute was promoted to the office of First Lord of the Treasury. Upon a disagreement with the leading members of the cabinet-council, concerning the negotiation for peace, he relinquished the seals of the Secretary of State's office, for the appointment of First Lord of the Admiralty. He obtained, soon after, for his eldest son, the reversion of a tellership in the Exchequer. On the 16th of April 1763, he was raised, on the resignation of Lord Bute, to the place of First Lord of the Treasury. He was the author of the famous Stamp Act, and of the first perse-

of Lord Rockingham. His views and situation required a creature void of all these properties; and he was forced to go through every division, resolution, composition, and refinement of political chemistry, before he happily arrived at the *caput mortuum* of vitriol in your Grace. Flat and insipid in your

cution of Mr. Wilkes. In the progress of his administration, after the death of Lord Egremont, he fell away from Lord Bute, and attached himself, in preference, to the Duke of Bedford. He and his co-adjutors in the administration were displaced, to make room for the party of the Marquis of Rockingham. He had been at variance with his brother, Lord Temple, ever since that nobleman retired from office: but they were now reconciled. He continued, ever after, in opposition to the ministers. In the parliamentary contest concerning the Middlesex election, he spoke and voted with the Minority. In the year 1768, both he and Lord Temple were fully reconciled to Lord Chatham. Till his death, he co-operated with them, and with the party of Lord Rockingham, in opposition to those mingled Whigs and Tories of whom the ministry was composed. He died on the 13th of November, in the year 1770. The King is said to have esteemed his character, and sincerely regretted his loss. He *did* possess that *shrewd, inflexible judgment*, which JUNIUS ascribes to him. Dr. Johnson said of him, that *if he had obtained payment of the American stamp duty, he could have counted it.*

The caput mortuum of vitriol in your Grace.] In the imperfect state, in which the science of chemistry was known in England, at the time when JUNIUS wrote these Letters, it was believed, that almost every process of chemical decomposition must necessarily afford an useless indecomposable earthly residue, which might not be farther decomposed, and was not applicable to any use. This doctrine was not scientifically true; but it was proper enough for the purposes of oratorical illustration. JUNIUS's use of it, in this place, is admirably skilful: nor do I know chemistry to have ever more successfully lent her assistance to the orator or the poet. Comparing the Duke of Grafton to the *caput mortuum* of vitriol, JUNIUS means; that the base of vitriol, without the acid, was inert, and powerless; but that the addition of the acid made it most *mischievously* energetic, by giving it active power which it possessed

retired state; but brought into action, you become vitriol again. Such are the extremes of alternate indolence or fury, which have governed your whole administration. Your circumstances with regard to the people soon becoming desperate; like other honest servants, you determined to involve the best of masters in the same difficulties with yourself. We owe it to your Grace's well-directed labours, that your Sovereign has been persuaded to doubt of the affections of his subjects, and the people to suspect the virtues of their Sovereign, at a time when both were unquestionable. . You have degraded the Royal dignity into a base and dishonourable competition with Mr. Wilkes; nor had you abilities to carry even the last contemptible triumph over a private man, without the grossest violation of the fundamental laws of the constitution and rights of the people. But these are rights, my Lord, which you can no more annihilate, than you can the soil to which they are annexed. The question no longer turns upon points of national honour and security abroad, or on the degrees of ex-

not before; and that the Duke of Grafton perfectly resembled it, in being insignificant and feeble, unless when malignantly active; but, then, mischievous even beyond the capacity of much more splendid talents. The latter part of the figure is, indeed, not chemically exact. But this we can pardon, on account of the excellence of its first part.

You have degraded the Royal dignity, &c.] The royal dignity was, indeed, degraded by the contest with Wilkes. Wilkes himself, and his supporters, the *cite* of London, and the *boors* of Middlesex, were exceedingly pleased to think, that they were engaged in a contest with Majesty, that they could even insult the King, and that they might perhaps, in the end, triumph over their Sovereign's wishes.

pedience and propriety of measures at home. It was not inconsistent that you should abandon the cause of liberty in another country, which you had persecuted in your own; and in the common arts of domestic corruption, we miss no part of Sir Robert Walpole's system, except his abilities. In this humble, imitative line, you might long have proceeded, safe and contemptible. You might probably never have risen to the dignity of being hated, and even have been despised with moderation. But it seems you meant to be distinguished; and, to a mind like yours, there was no other road to fame but by the destruction of a noble fabric, which you thought had been too long the admiration of mankind. The use you have made of the military force introduced an alarming change in the mode of executing the laws. The arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell invades the foundation of the laws themselves, as it manifestly transfers the right of legislation from those whom the people have chosen, to those whom they have rejected. With a succession of such appointments, we may soon see a House of Commons collected, in the choice of which

It was not inconsistent, &c.] Corsica was the country in which JUNIUS represents the Duke as having abandoned the cause of liberty. Lord Shelburne, a disciple of the school of Chatham, would have protected the Corsicans. Those who prevailed in the cabinet, chose not to contend with France about the fate of a distant and a petty isle. The citizens of London, in an enthusiasm for liberty, or a spirit of contradiction to the ministry, raised an ample subscription for the relief of the Corsicans.

Sir Robert Walpole's system, &c.] That system will be more properly examined on a subsequent occasion in these notes. It has been of late made, undeservedly, the subject of extravagant panegyric.

the other towns and counties of England will have as little share as the devoted county of Middlesex.

Yet I trust your Grace will find, that the people of this country are neither to be intimidated by violent measures, nor deceived by refinements. When they see Mr. Luttrell seated in the House of Commons by mere dint of power, and in direct opposition to the choice of a whole county, they will not listen to those subtleties, by which every arbitrary exertion of authority is explained into the law and privilege of parliament. It requires no persuasion of argument, but simply the evidence of the senses, to convince them, that to transfer the right of election from the collective to the representative body of the people, contradicts all those ideas of a House of Commons, which they have received from their forefathers, and which they had already, though vainly perhaps, delivered to their children. The principles on which this violent measure has been defended, have added scorn to injury, and forced us to feel, that we are not only oppressed but insulted.

With what force, my Lord, with what protection, are you prepared to meet the united detestation of the people of England? The city of London has given a generous example to the kingdom, in what

The city of London has given a generous example, &c.] A specimen of the boldness of the addresses with which the city of London, at this time, not absolutely without reason, nor without useful consequences, harassed the court, will be found, among some other original papers, in the Appendix.

manner a King of this country ought to be addressed; and I fancy, my Lord, it is not yet in your courage to stand between your Sovereign and the addresses of his subjects. The injuries you have done this country are such as demand not only redress, but vengeance. In vain shall you look for protection to that venal vote, which you have already paid for—another must be purchased; and, to save a minister, the House of Commons must declare themselves not only independent of their constituents, but the determined enemies of the constitution. Consider, my Lord, whether this be an extremity to which their fears will permit them to advance; or, if *their* protection should fail you, how far you are authorised to rely upon the sincerity of those smiles, which a pious court lavishes without reluctance upon a libertine by profession. It is not indeed the least of the thousand contradictions which attend you, that a man, marked to the world by the grossest violation of all ceremony and decorum, should be the first servant of a court, in which prayers are morality, and kneeling is religion. Trust not too far to appearances, by which your predecessors have been deceived, though they have not been injured. Even the best of princes may at last discover, that this is a contention, in which

A court, in which prayers are morality, &c.] Every tongue and every pen, bear witness to the excellence of that example, both in a religious decency bespeaking sincere piety, and in the most amiable and correct morality, which our present Sovereign has ever set before his subjects; an example that, since the reign of Queen Anne, was not to be, equally, seen upon the throne. And is a Sovereign to be blamed, because he cannot always find ministers among those who are like to himself in private virtue?

every thing may be lost, but nothing can be gained ; and, as you became minister by accident, were adopted without choice, trusted without confidence, and continued without favour, be assured that, whenever an occasion presses, you will be discarded without even the forms of regret. You will then have reason to be thankful, if you are permitted to retire to that seat of learning, which, in contemplation of the system of your life, the comparative purity of your manners, with those of their high steward, and a thousand other recommending circumstances, has chosen you to encourage the growing virtue of their youth, and to preside over their education. Whenever the spirit of distributing prebends and bishopricks shall have departed from you, you will find that learned seminary perfectly recovered from the delirium of an installation ; and, what in truth it ought to be, once more a peaceful

Became minister by accident, &c.] It is an admirably eloquent, and perhaps a perfectly just description of the progress of the Duke's ministry, in its relations to the court, which is compressed within this period.

Has chosen you to preside, &c.] The Duke of Grafton had been elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. GRAY, who owed his professorship to the unsolicited patronage of the Duke, composed in his praise an Ode for music, which was performed at his installation. Gray, indeed, wrote also an Ode on the death of Mr. Walpole's cat. Yet, I do not think he would have praised the undeserving. The Duke of Grafton is himself learned. Not very many years ago, he had a noble edition of GRIESBACH's *Greek Testament* printed, abroad, at his own expense.

Lord Sandwich was the High Steward of the same University.

The Duke of Newcastle, who had made many bishops, is said to have found them ungrateful, when *the day of his power had passed.*

scene of slumber and thoughtless meditation. The venerable tutors of the university will no longer distress your modesty, by proposing you for a pattern to their pupils. The learned dullness of declamation will be silent; and even the venal muse, though happiest in fiction, will forget your virtues. Yet, for the benefit of the succeeding age, I could wish that your retreat might be deferred, until your morals shall happily be ripened to that maturity of corruption, at which the worst examples cease to be contagious.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XVI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

THE following is one of the Letters which were given to the Public under the name, not of JUNIUS, but of his auxiliary, PHILO-JUNIUS. It is, perhaps, the best specimen which this whole collection affords, of clear and cogent reasoning. Its introductory paragraph briefly marks, in reference to the dispute about the Middlesex election, that error which is the most common with weak reasoners, who have more of logic than of sound common sense in their heads; and thus explains, by contrast, the best means for discerning and establishing the truth in every controversy. The precise question concerning the violated rights of the Middlesex election, is next accurately stated. The proper mode of giving full validity of proof, to whatever answer shall be offered, is then more particularly ascertained; and it is evinced, that the only inquiry is concerning the law of parliament, enacted by clear and positive statutes, or declared by indisputable precedents. It was confessed, that there existed no statute declaring the expulsion of any member from the House of Commons, to render him incapable of re-election into that parliament out of which he had been expelled: and JUNIUS, upon this topic, simply states that fact. He then shews the only precedent, which had been confidently produced, in support of the decision of the House of Commons, to differ, in its circumstances, so essentially, from the case of the Middlesex election, that no inference of law could be fairly made, from the one to the other. After reasoning in this manner, with admirable clearness and cogency, he returns, in the concluding paragraph of his Letter, to that animated, impressive, exaggerating, oratorical assertion, which was adapted, still better than reasoning, to work his purpose, with many of those to whom his Letters were addressed.

In this Letter, it is not so much the cause of Mr. Wilkes, as that of the Electors of Middlesex, which JUNIUS pleads. He maintains here, only, that Mr. Wilkes was at least not so very ineligible, as

by his ineligibility absolutely to annihilate, in law, those votes which were given in his favour.

This is a Letter which cannot be too often read, by those who would learn to reason with precision, yet without too elaborate refinement; who would join force and brevity with the most lucid clearness, whether in writing or in debate, in the ardour of real business, or in the coolness of speculation.

SIR,

19. July, 1769.

A GREAT deal of useless argument might have been saved, in the political contest, which has arisen from the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and the subsequent appointment of Mr. Luttrell, if the question had been once stated with precision, to the satisfaction of each party, and clearly understood by them both. But in this, as in almost every other dispute, it usually happens that much time is lost in referring to a multitude of cases and precedents, which prove nothing to the purpose, or in maintaining propositions, which are either not disputed, or,

A great deal of useless argument might have been saved, &c.] Partly because the disputants on the subject of the Middlesex election, were much more eager than able; partly because the question was originally complex and difficult; from the endeavours of those who assumed the defence of the ministry and the parliament, to perplex it by vain refinements, or to hide the truth under legal subtleties; and because many of those who were on the other side, could only assert with clamour, when they supposed themselves to be giving invincible reasons. This great question, though discussed in a multitude of pamphlets, in much vigorous debate, and in popular conversation throughout all London and Westminster, yet was never stated with clearness and precision, till JUNIUS undertook to explain it in this and some of the following Letters.

whether they be admitted or denied, are entirely indifferent as to the matter in debate; until at last the mind, perplexed and confounded with the endless subtleties of controversy; loses sight of the main question, and never arrives at truth. Both parties in the dispute are apt enough to practise these dishonest artifices. The man who is conscious of the weakness of his cause, is interested in concealing it: and, on the other side, it is not uncommon to see a good cause mangled by advocates, who do not know the real strength of it.

I should be glad to know, for instance, to what purpose, in the present case, so many precedents have been produced to prove, that the House of Commons have a right to expel one of their own members; that it belongs to them to judge of the validity of elections; or that the law of parliament is part of the law of the land*? After all these propositions are admitted, Mr. Luttrell's right to his seat will continue to be just as disputable as it was before. Not one of them is at present in agitation. Let it be admitted that the House of Commons were authorised to expel Mr. Wilkes, that they are the

* The reader will observe, that these admissions are made, not as of truths unquestionable, but for the sake of argument, and in order to bring the real question to issue.

Expel Mr. Wilkes, &c.] That the House of Commons had acquired by the custom of parliament a right to expel any of their members, whose crimes appeared to a majority of the House to make him unworthy of a seat in it, was on all hands confessed. Neither was it alleged that they might not expel, on account of any crimes which should appear to themselves to deserve expulsion.

proper court to judge of elections, and that the law of parliament is binding upon the people; still it remains to be inquired, whether the house, by their resolution in favour of Mr. Luttrell have or have not truly declared that law. To facilitate this inquiry, I would have the question cleared of all foreign or indifferent matter. The following state of it will probably be thought a fair one by both parties; and then I imagine there is no gentlemen in this country, who will not be capable of forming a judicious and true opinion upon it. I take the question to be strictly this: "Whether or no it be the known, established law of parliament, that the expulsion of a member of the House of Commons, of itself creates in him such an incapacity to be re-elected, that at a subsequent election, any votes given to him are null and void; and that any other candidate who, except the person expelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member."

To prove that the affirmative is the law of parliament, I apprehend it is not sufficient for the present House of Commons to declare it to be so. We may shut our eyes indeed to the dangerous consequences of suffering one branch of the legislature to declare new laws, without arguments or example, and it may perhaps be prudent enough to submit to authority;

It was not the legality of the expulsion of Wilkes that was disputed, but the legality of declaring him incapable of re-election into the same parliament from which he had been expelled, and the legality of annulling the votes which had been given for him while he was under this pretended incapacity.

but a mere assertion will never convince, much less will it be thought reasonable to prove the right by the fact itself. The ministry have not yet pretended to such a tyranny over our minds. To support the affirmative fairly, it will either be necessary to produce some statute, in which that positive provision shall have been made, that specific disability clearly created, and the consequences of it declared; or, if there be no such statute, the custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case or cases*, strictly in point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them; for I readily admit, that the custom of parliament, once clearly proved, is equally binding with the common and statute law.

The consideration of what may be reasonable or unreasonable, makes no part of this question. We are inquiring what the law is, not what it ought to be. Reason may be applied to shew the impropriety or expedience of a law, but we must have either statute or precedent to prove the existence of it. At the same time, I do not mean to admit, that the late resolution of the House of Commons is defensible on general principles of reason, any more than in law. This is not the hinge on which the debate turns.

Supposing, therefore, that I have laid down an accurate state of the question, I will venture to affirm, 1st, That there is no statute existing, by which

* Precedents, in opposition to principles, have little weight with JUNIUS; but he thought it necessary to meet the ministry, upon their own ground.

that specific disability which we speak of is created. If there be, let it be produced. The argument will then be at an end.

2dly, That there is no precedent in all the proceedings of the House of Commons, which comes entirely home to the present case, viz. "Where an expelled member has been returned again, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member." If there be such a precedent, let it be given to us plainly, and I am sure it will have more weight than all the cunning arguments which have been drawn from inferences and probabilities.

The ministry, in that laborious pamphlet which I presume contains the whole strength of the party, have declared*, "That Mr. Walpole's was the first and only instance, in which the electors of any county or borough had returned a person expelled, to serve in the same parliament." It is not possible to conceive a case more exactly in point. Mr. Walpole

* Case of the Middlesex Election considered, page 38.

Mr. Walpole's was the first and only instance, &c.] This whole statement of the case of Walpole, with the refutation of the inferences which the ministry had drawn from it, are not excelled even by the admirable logic with which Chillingworth confounds the arguments of Knot, the Papist; nor by that with which the clear and mathematical Pascal, in his *Lettres Provinciales*, overpowers the sophistry of the Jesuits.

Mr. Walpole was expelled, &c.] This was he who became afterwards the celebrated First Minister of George the First, and George the Second. He was expelled by a Tory majority, for the crime of

was expelled ; and, having a majority of votes at the next election, was returned again. The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate set up by the ministry, petitioned the House that he might be the sitting member. Thus far the circumstances tally exactly, except that our House of Commons saved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. The point of law, however, was the same. It came regularly before the House, and it was their business to determine upon it. They did determine it ; for they declared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected*. If it be said, that they meant this resolution as matter of favour and indulgence to the borough, which had retorted Mr. Walpole upon them, in order that the burgesses, knowing what the law was, might correct their error—I answer.

I. That it is a strange way of arguing, to oppose a supposition, which no man can prove, to a fact which proves itself.

II. That if this were the intention of the House of Commons, it must have defeated itself. The burgesses of Lynn could never have known their error, much less could they have corrected it by any instruction they received from the proceedings of the House of Commons. They might, perhaps, have

accepting profits upon a military contract, while Secretary at War, under a Whig administration. On account of his guilt, his expulsion, and his having been committed to the Tower, he was, in spite of his own efforts, and those of the burgesses of Lynn Regis, excluded from that parliament. His activity in it had been dreaded.

foreseen that, if they returned Mr. Walpole again, he would again be rejected; but they never could infer, from a resolution by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared *not duly elected*, that at a future election, and in similar circumstances, the House of Commons would reverse their resolution, and receive the same candidate as duly elected, whom they had before rejected.

This, indeed, would have been a most extraordinary way of declaring the law of parliament, and what I presume no man, whose understanding is not at cross-purposes with itself, could possibly understand.

If, in a case of this importance, I thought myself at liberty to argue from suppositions rather than from facts, I think the probability, in this instance, is directly the reverse of what the ministry affirm; and that it is much more likely that the House of Commons, at that time, would rather have strained a point in favour of Mr. Taylor, than that they would have violated the law of parliament, and robbed Mr. Taylor of a right legally vested in him, to gratify a refractory borough, which, in defiance of them, had returned a person branded with the strongest mark of the displeasure of the house.

But really, Sir, this way of talking, for I cannot call it argument, is a mockery of the common understanding of the nation, too gross to be endured. Our dearest interests are at stake. An attempt has been

made, not merely to rob a single county of its rights, but, by inevitable consequence, to alter the constitution of the House of Commons. This fatal attempt has succeeded, and stands as a precedent recorded forever. If the ministry are unable to defend their cause by fair argument founded on facts, let them spare us at least the mortification of being amused and deluded like children. I believe there is yet a spirit of resistance in this country, which will not submit to be oppressed; but I am sure there is a fund of good sense in this country, which cannot be deceived.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.



SOME of the less skilful or more pertinacious advocates for the decision of the House of Commons on the Middlesex election, were disposed to overlook every thing in the contest, but the turpitude of Wilkes's moral character, the turbulent refractoriness of the freeholders of Middlesex, the indefinite extent of the privilege of parliament, and the unreasonableness of exciting discontent throughout the nation, on account of a single act of doubtful legality by its representatives.

A quotation from a pamphlet by one of these advocates of the ministry, and a letter by another, had appeared in the Public Advertiser, since the publication of JUNIUS's last Letter. The object of the present Letter, is, to refute what those persons had advanced.

He finds little difficulty in maintaining what he had before, indeed, sufficiently evinced; that it was law, not general reason nor expediency, by which alone the contest might be decided; and that the House of Commons could possess, under the right of privilege of parliament, no authority but what was, at least, either expressed in statutes, or established by a train of clear, unexceptionable precedents. He urges, that the ministry themselves did not presume to maintain that, if there were even usefulness or equity in the annihilation of the votes of the obnoxious electors of Middlesex, the House of Commons could, by a simple resolution, make it law. He deprecates the recurrence of any similar exercise of an usurped authority by that House; and expresses a wish that, if it be thought necessary to endow the representatives of the Commons with such a power, it should at least be conferred by one regular and solemn act of the whole legislature.

This Letter is less masterly than that which immediately precedes it; but the purpose for which it was written, was comparatively slight. It appears as an auxiliary epistle from PHILO-JUNIUS.

SIR,

1. August, 1769.

IT will not be necessary for JUNIUS to take the trouble of answering your correspondent G. A. or the quotation from a speech without doors, published in your paper of the 28th of last month. The speech appeared before JUNIUS's Letter; and, as the author seems to consider the great proposition, on which all his argument depends, viz. *that Mr. Wilkes was under that known legal incapacity of which JUNIUS speaks*, as a point granted, his speech is in no shape an answer to JUNIUS, for this is the very question in debate.

As to G. A. I observe, first, that if he did not admit JUNIUS's state of the question, he should have shewn the fallacy of it, or given us a more exact one; —secondly, that considering the many hours and days which the ministry and their advocates have wasted, in public debate, in compiling large quartos, and collecting innumerable precedents, expressly to prove; that the late proceedings of the House of Commons are warranted by the law, custom, and practice of parliament, it is rather an extraordinary supposition, to be made by one of their own party, even for the sake of argument, *that no such statute, no such custom of parliament, no such case in point, can be produced.*

A point granted—in no shape an answer.] Even from the pen of JUNIUS, this phrasology is not to be approved as elegant or pure. It is evidently vulgar; and the use of—in no shape—is indefensibly incorrect.

G. A. may, however, make the supposition with safety. It contains nothing but literally the fact, except that there is a case exactly in point, with a decision of the house diametrically opposite to that which the present House of Commons came to in favour of Mr. Luttrell.

The ministry now begin to be ashamed of the weakness of their cause; and as it usually happens with falsehood, are driven to the necessity of shifting their ground, and changing their whole defence. At first we were told, that nothing could be clearer than that the proceedings of the House of Commons were justified by the known law and uniform custom of parliament. But now, it seems, if there be no law, the House of Commons have a right to make one; and if there be no precedent, they have a right to create the first:—for this, I presume, is the amount of the questions proposed to JUNIUS. If your correspondent had been at all versed in the law of parliament, or generally in the laws of this country, he would have seen that this defence is as weak and false as the former.

The necessity of shifting their ground.] JUNIUS, with good reason, supposed the ministry to be willing to urge, in defence of the obnoxious decision of the House of Commons, all arguments, whether good or bad, that might have any weight with any understandings. This induced him to discuss and refute, not only their capital arguments, but even the weakest they could produce with any shew of plausibility; since there were none so weak as not to influence some minds.

The privileges of either House of Parliament, it is true, are indefinite; that is, they have not been described or laid down in any one code or declaration whatsoever: but, whenever a question of privilege has arisen, it has invariably been disputed or maintained upon the footing of precedents alone*. In the course of the proceedings upon the Aylesbury election, the House of Lords resolved, "That neither House of Parliament had any power, by any vote or declaration, to create to themselves any new privilege that was not warranted by the known laws and customs of parliament." And to this rule the House of Commons, though otherwise they had acted in a very arbitrary manner, gave their assent; for they affirmed, that they had guided themselves by it, in asserting their privileges.—Now, Sir, if this be true with respect to matters of privilege, in which the House of Commons, individually and as a body, are principally

The privileges of either House, &c.] The privileges of the House of Commons were, afterwards, not a little restricted, by the contention between that House and the City Magistrates; and, *at last*, by the rescinding of the obnoxious resolution in regard to the Middlesex election.

* This is still meeting the ministry upon their own ground; for, in truth, no precedents will support either natural injustice, or violation of positive right.

Now, Sir, if this be true with respect to matters of privilege, &c.] This is a very accurate distinction, most seasonably made. When a *third party*, of such importance as the freeholders of the whole kingdom, was interested; that limitation of the privileges of the House of Commons, could not but be highly obligatory, which was acknowledged even in matters of mere order and regulation in which only the *House* and some *second party* had a concern.

concerned, how much more strongly will it hold against any pretended power in that house, to create or declare a new law, by which not only the rights of the house over their own member and those of the member himself, are included, but also those of a third and separate party, I mean the freeholders of the kingdom! To do justice to the ministry, they have not yet pretended, that any one, or any two of the three estates have power to make a new law, without the concurrence of the third. They know that a man who maintains such a doctrine, is liable, by statute, to the heaviest penalties. They do not acknowledge that the House of Commons have assumed a *new* privilege, or declared a *new* law. On the contrary, they affirm, that their proceedings have been strictly conformable to, and founded upon, the ancient law and custom of parliament. Thus, therefore, the question returns to the point at which JUNIUS had fixed it, viz. *Whether or no this be the law of parliament?* If it be not, the House of Commons had no

Whether or no this be the law of parliament?] This was the only question. If his opponents might be confined to the discussion of this question, JUNIUS was sure of victory. The partizans of the ministry, though pretending to argue only concerning the law of parliament; yet, in their representations to the nation at large, contrived, as often as possible, to *blink* that question; and to talk only of general expediency, and of the folly of suffering such a man as Wilkes, with his seditious abettors, to insult the great powers of the state, and to spread discontent and alarm throughout the empire. This strain of reasoning was but too successful, in the more distant parts of the kingdom. All could enter, more or less, into it. They were comparatively few, who could judge, with discernment, of the question of law.

legal authority to establish the precedent; and the precedent itself is a mere fact, without any proof of right whatsoever.

Your correspondent concludes with a question of the simplest nature: *Must a thing be wrong, because it has never been done before?* No. But admitting it were proper to be done, that alone does not convey an authority to do it. As to the present case, I hope I shall never see the time, when not only a single person, but a whole county, and in effect, the entire collective body of the people, may again be robbed of their birth-right by a vote of the House of Commons. But if, for reasons which I am unable to comprehend, it be necessary to trust that house with a power so exorbitant and so unconstitutional, at least let it be given to them by an act of the legislature.

PHILO-JUNIUS.

LETTER XVIII.

TO SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE, SOLICITOR GENERAL
TO HER MAJESTY.

TO distinguish, happily, the fitnesses of times, persons, places, actions, and words, is the truest evidence of that divinity of genius which is alone able to preside with native authority, over the affairs of social life, and to sway, at will, the designs and passions of mankind. If of any other politician, or orator, ancient or modern, this is, assuredly, the power of JUNIUS. Nor has he, anywhere, more signally displayed it, than in this Letter to Sir William Blackstone.

As JUNIUS stated in one of the preceding Letters; Sir William Blackstone had, in speaking in the House of Commons, on the question of the Middlesex election, uttered an opinion, that seemed to his opponents to contradict the doctrine of his Commentaries. The contradiction was, to the confusion of Blackstone, earnestly exposed by Mr. George Grenville. JUNIUS and others maliciously proclaimed to the public, with what shame the recreant lawyer had been overwhelmed. Blackstone, accustomed only to the praise of talents, of integrity, of juridical erudition, was unhappy and impatient, till he might shake off the disgrace. Anonymously, therefore, yet without disguising his manner of writing, and with no anxious care for concealment, he soon gave to the public, in answer to a publication by Sir William Meredith; a pamphlet, in which his own late conduct in the House of Commons was anxiously vindicated, and an elaborate attempt was made to reconcile the doctrine of his speech with that of his book. To that pamphlet, he added a postscript, in refutation of the reasoning in the Sixteenth of these Letters of JUNIUS. Besides, it was evident, that the severe reproaches before thrown out, by JUNIUS, against him, had contributed, perhaps, more than any thing else, to draw forth the whole publication.

Now, the happy discrimination of JUNIUS, was evinced in this, that he instantly saw all the advantage which was to be gained by entering the lists with Sir William Blackstone. He perceived the pamphlet

to be Sir William's own; and probably had private information, confirming the internal evidence of the piece itself. He was aware, that the fame of having triumphed over Blackstone, would add to his authority, much new weight with those who were unable to judge for themselves, of the conclusive force of his arguments. He saw, too, where it might be proper to press hard upon his opponent; where to treat him with seeming candour and gentleness; how to make both gentleness and severity combine, to accumulate confusion on the head of the lawyer; how to refute, in a very few pages, the lengthened reasonings of a bulky pamphlet.

With these views, and with address thus masterly, does JUNIUS open this attack upon Blackstone. He pointedly states, in it, his reasons for thinking Sir William the author of the treatise which he is about to refute. They are forcible; and, I suppose, unanswerable. In an analysis of that treatise, he considers it as divided into an attack on Mr. Grenville's character, and a defence of Blackstone's own. Grenville was accused of inconsistency; as having been the first to persecute Mr. Wilkes, though, in regard to the Middlesex election, he seemed now his zealous defender; but, JUNIUS alleges that the defence of the rights of the freeholders of Middlesex, implied no approbation of the first errors of Mr. Wilkes. He was accused of having insidiously waited to ensnare, and triumph over Blackstone: but, JUNIUS maintains, that he had rather confided in Blackstone's erudition and integrity, and had sought opportunity to do him honour. Sir William Meredith once, on the question concerning General Warrants, the keen adversary of Grenville, was blamed in Blackstone's pamphlet, as having joined in misrepresentation, the man whom he, before, so fiercely persecuted: JUNIUS denies, that it was misrepresentation in which Mr. Grenville and Sir William Meredith agreed. Quoting the very words from Blackstone's Commentaries, he proves, that the law, as explained in that work, recognized not those disqualifications for election, under which the House of Commons had excluded Mr. Wilkes from his seat for Middlesex. He then shews, that Wilkes's was not merely a particular case that could not be foreseen, belonging to a class that was, in the Commentaries, actually enumerated, but constituted the only instance which had been hitherto exhibited, of a new class in which a multitude of

cases might be comprehended, though it had been, till now, utterly unknown both to Blackstone and to the constitution. The acute discrimination with which JUNIUS pursues and consummates this argument, seems to set him, both as a lawyer and a logician, greatly above the man whose inconsistencies and clumsy apology, he impeaches. The peroration is happy. It could not but leave a sting in the bosom of him to whom it was addressed. It was adapted to make the public detest him as an apostate from truth, which he had himself once taught, and could not yet steadily deny.

SIR,

29. July, 1769.

I SHALL make you no apology for considering a certain pamphlet, in which your late conduct is defended, as written by yourself. The personal interest, the personal resentments, and, above all, that wounded spirit, unaccustomed to reproach, and I hope not frequently conscious of deserving it, are signals which betray the author to us as plainly as if your name were in the title-page. You appeal to the public in defence of your reputation. We hold it, Sir, that an injury offered to an individual, is interesting to society. On this principle, the people of England made common cause with Mr. Wilkes. On this principle, if *you* are injured, they will join in your resentment. I shall not follow you through the insipid form of a third person, but address myself to you directly.

You seem to think the channel of a pamphlet more respectable, and better suited to the dignity of your cause, than that of a newspaper. Be it so,

Yet if newspapers are scurrilous, you must confess they are impartial. They give us, without any apparent preference, the wit and argument of the ministry, as well as the abusive dulness of the opposition. The scales are equally poised. It is not the printer's fault, if the greater weight inclines the balance.

Your pamphlet, then, is divided into an attack upon Mr. Grenville's character, and a defence of your own. It would have been more consistent, perhaps, with your professed intention, to have confined yourself to the last. But anger has some claim to indulgence, and railing is usually a relief to the mind. I hope you have found benefit from the experiment. It is not my design to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville, upon his own principles. I have neither the honour of being personally known to him, nor do I pretend to be completely master of all the facts. I need not run the risk of doing an injustice to his opinions, or to his conduct, when your pamphlet alone carries, upon the face of it, a full vindication of both.

Your first reflection is; that Mr. Grenville* was, of all men, the person who should not have com-

It is not the printer's fault, &c.] Letters from advocates for the measures of the ministry were, at this time, published in the same newspapers in which those of JUNIUS appeared. The irony of this and the two preceding periods, is admirably strong and happy.

* Mr. Grenville had quoted a passage from the Doctor's excellent Commentaries, which directly contradicted the doctrine maintained by the Doctor in the House of Commons.

plained of inconsistence with regard to Mr. Wilkes. This, Sir, is either an unmeaning sneer, a peevish expression of resentment, or, if it means any thing, you plainly beg the question ; for, whether his parliamentary conduct, with regard to Mr. Wilkes, has or has not been inconsistent, remains yet to be proved. But it seems, he received, upon the spot, a sufficient chastisement for exercising *so unfairly*, his talents of misrepresentation. You are a lawyer, Sir, and know better than I do, upon what particular occasions, a talent for misrepresentation may be *fairly* exerted ; but to punish a man a second time, when he has been once sufficiently chastised, is rather too severe. It is not in the laws of England ; it is not in your own Commentaries ; nor is it yet, I believe, in the new law you have revealed to the House of Commons. I hope this doctrine has no existence but in your own heart. After all, Sir, if you had consulted that sober discretion, which you seem to oppose with triumph to the honest jollity of a tavern, it might have occurred to you, that although you

That Mr. Grenville, was, of all men, &c.] Mr. Grenville was minister when a general warrant was issued against the authors and printers of the North Briton. Yet, he was now the advocate of the rights of the abettors of Wilkes. This was the inconsistency with which Blackstone charged him.

But to punish a man a second time, &c.] This may seem trivial word-catching. But, against Sir William Blackstone, of whom the most cautious precision was to be expected, it had necessarily great force.

Honest jollity of a tavern, &c.] The opposition settled many of their plans of procedure at tavern-meetings, in which conviviality was, not rarely, pushed to excess.

could have succeeded in fixing a charge of inconsistency upon Mr. Grenville, it would not have tended, in any shape, to exculpate yourself.

Your next insinuation, that Sir William Meredith had hastily adopted the false glosses of his new ally,

Sir William Meredith, &c.] Sir William Meredith was a gentleman of considerable note among the Whig members of the House of Commons, from the very beginning of the opposition to Bute. His industry and bustling activity were not, however, always agreeable to his party. The famous motion—to declare the use of General Warrants illegal—was proposed by him in the House of Commons; but not, as appears from that celebrated, though poorly written pamphlet, *The History of the Minority*, without some jealous dissatisfaction of those, who thought themselves much fitter to be the leaders in an enterprize of so much importance. In the war of pamphlets which ensued, he wrote one under the title of, *A Reply to the Defence of the Majority on the Question relating to General Warrants*. In the debates on the question concerning the Middlesex election, he earnestly supported the pretensions of Wilkes, and the rights of the electors. The violation of the rights of the Duke of Portland, in regard to the lease of Inglewood Forest, on the principle that prescriptive possession could have, in law, no force against the claims of the crown, occasioned the passing of the *Nullum Tempus* act, by which that odious principle was forever abolished. Yet, even in this act, it was contrived to introduce a clause, which was thought to defeat an essential part of the intention of those by whom the act had been chiefly promoted. Sir William Meredith, therefore, again distinguished himself by moving, in the House of Commons, the repeal of that obnoxious clause. In the progress of the contest with America, Dr. Barron, of the university of St. Andrew, published, *A History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity*; a work that was received with great favour by the administration, and was thought of sufficient consequence to deserve refutation by the opposition. To this work, Sir William Meredith prepared an elaborate answer, under the title of *Historical Remarks on the Taxation of Free States*. A few copies of this treatise were printed: but, it has not been made public.



Robert, 2nd Earl of Grenville

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is of the same sort with the first. It conveys a sneer as little worthy of the gravity of your character, as it is useless to your defence. It is of little moment to the public to inquire, by whom the charge was conceived, or by whom it was adopted. The only question we ask is, whether or no it be true. The remainder of your reflections upon Mr. Grenville's conduct destroy themselves. He could not possibly come prepared to traduce your integrity to the house. He could not foresee that you would even speak upon the question; much less could he foresee that you would maintain a direct contradiction of that doctrine, which you had, solemnly, disinterestedly, and upon soberest reflection, delivered to the public. He came armed, indeed, with what he thought a respectable authority, to support what he was convinced was the cause of truth; and, I doubt not, he intended to give you, in the course of the debate, an honourable and public testimony of his esteem. Thinking highly of his abilities, I cannot however allow him the gift

He could not possibly come prepared to traduce your integrity, &c.] This part of the defence of Mr. Grenville, is but of doubtful truth. He could not infallibly foresee, but he had very probably good reason to expect, that Dr. Blackstone would speak in the debate, and would argue on the side of administration. He knew that Blackstone's arguments would, at least, be plausible, and that his authority could not but have great weight. If, aware of these probabilities, and acquainted with the doctrine of the Commentaries, Grenville had yet neglected to watch, and to entrap in a dilemma, one of his most powerful adversaries in the debate; he *must* have possessed very little shrewdness of intellect, and *must* have been extremely ill-qualified for a leader in the House of Commons.

of divination. As to what you are pleased to call a plan coolly formed to impose upon the House of Commons, and his producing it without provocation at midnight, I consider it as the language of pique and invective, therefore unworthy of regard. But, Sir, I am sensible I have followed your example too long, and wandered from the point.

The quotation from your Commentaries is matter of record. It can neither be *altered* by your friends,

I consider it as the language of pique and invective, &c.] Let the reader carefully examine that period in the text, of which these words make a part; he will perceive, that the pronoun *it*, in the member of the sentence here quoted, acts by necessity the part of a *relative*; but that there is no antecedent, in grammatical strictness corresponding to it. Had JUNIUS chosen to write in the beginning of the period—*As to what you are pleased to say of a plan, &c.*—there would have been an antecedent, corresponding with perfect accuracy to the subsequent relative. As it is, we are obliged to guess, from the meaning, what the syntax should be, instead of finding, as we ought, in the construction, a guide to the signification.

The quotation from your Commentaries is matter of record, &c.] This whole paragraph ought to be again and again perused by the reader, who would learn from these Letters of JUNIUS, to reason and to persuade. It is an example of the most admirable clearness, closeness, precision, strength, and artifice of logic. In *writing*, this sort of eloquence is, ever, far the most powerful. The eloquence of *speaking* seems, for the greater part, to require more diffusive copiousness, and a wider amplitude of illustration. Yet, with great dignity of voice and address; with a distinct, slow, full, and yet animated elocution; with intuitive quickness in discerning the truth; and with the most vivid energy of fancy and sentiment, for its illustration and enforcement; even in speaking, the mode of the eloquence of JUNIUS, and of Demosthenes, will be found much more illuminating, impressive, and convincing, than that of a Cicero, a Burke, or a Rousseau.

nor misrepresented by your enemies ; and I am willing to take your own word for what you have said in the House of Commons. If there be a real difference between what you have written, and what you have spoken, you confess that your book ought to be the standard. Now, Sir, if words mean any thing, I apprehend that, when a long enumeration of disqualifications (whether by statute or the custom of parliament) concludes with these general comprehensive words, " but subject to these restrictions and disqualifications, *every* subject of the realm is eligible of common right," a reader of plain understanding must of course rest satisfied, that no species of disqualification whatsoever had been omitted. The known character of the author, and the apparent accuracy with which the whole work is compiled, would confirm him in his opinion ; nor could he possibly form any other judgment, without looking upon your Commentaries in the same light in which you consider those penal laws, which, though not repealed, are fallen into disuse, and are now, in effect, A SNARE TO THE UNWARY*.

You tell us, indeed, that it was not part of your plan, to specify any temporary incapacity ; and that

A SNARE TO THE UNWARY.] Blackstone's own words, slyly quoted against himself.

* If, in stating the law upon any point, a judge deliberately affirms that he has included *every* case, and it should appear that he has purposely omitted a material case, he does, in effect, lay a snare for the unwary.

It was not part of your plan, to specify any temporary incapacity, &c.] This was, indeed, but a very sorry excuse. Incapacities both

you could not, without a spirit of prophecy, have specified the disability of a private individual, subsequent to the period at which you wrote. What your plan was, I know not ; but what it should have been, in order to complete the work you have given us, is by no means difficult to determine. The incapacity, which you call temporary, may continue seven years ; and though you might not have foreseen the particular case of Mr. Wilkes, you might and should have foreseen the possibility of *such* a case, and told us how far the House of Commons were authorized to proceed in it by the law and custom of parliament. The freeholders of Middlesex would then have known what they had to trust to, and would never have returned Mr. Wilkes, when Colonel Luttrell was a candidate against him. They would have chosen some indifferent person, rather than submit to be represented by the object of their contempt and detestation.

Your attempt to distinguish between disabilities which affect whole classes of men, and those which affect individuals only, is really unworthy of your understanding. Your Commentaries had taught me that, although the instance in which a penal law is exerted be particular, the laws themselves are general. They are made for the benefit and instruction of the public, though the penalty falls only upon an indi-

- *temporary* and *perpetual*, both *ought* to have been stated, and seem to have been *intended* to be stated, in that part of the institute of Blackstone which treats of the rights of election.

vidual. You cannot but know, Sir, that what was Mr. Wilkes's case yesterday, may be yours or mine to-morrow; and that, consequently, the common right of every subject of the realm is invaded by it. Professing, therefore, to treat of the constitution of the House of Commons, and of the laws and customs relative to that constitution, you certainly were guilty of a most unpardonable omission, in taking no notice of a right and privilege of the house, more extraordinary and more arbitrary than all the others they possess put together. If the expulsion of a member, not under any legal disability, of itself creates in him an incapacity to be elected, I see a ready way marked out, by which the majority may, at any time, remove the honestest and ablest men who happen to be in opposition to them. To say, that they *will not* make this extravagant use of their power, would be a language unfit for a man so learned in the laws as you are. By your doctrine, Sir, they *have*

If the expulsion, &c.—creates—] The moods of verbs express the generic distinctions of *potentiality*. None of these is more remarkable than that which subsists between power actually existent, and power only possible; the former signified in the indicative mood, the latter in the subjunctive. But, of this truth, English writers in general appear, if we may judge from their practice, to be utterly ignorant, or scornfully careless. Our grammarians distinguish a subjunctive mood: but, our writers employ the form of the indicative, indifferently, also for the subjunctive. JUNIUS uses here, *creates* of the indicative, instead of the subjunctive *create*. He uses, elsewhere, *are* for *be*. And, in general, though in other respects the most correct in style, perhaps, of all our writers, he uses always the forms of the indicative, to signify as well *possible* as *actually existing* power. In this, I cannot advise the reader to imitate him.

the power; and laws, you know, are intended to guard against what men *may* do, not to trust to what they *will* do.

Upon the whole, Sir, the charge against you is of a plain, simple nature : it appears even upon the face of your own pamphlet. On the contrary, your justification of yourself is full of subtlety and refinement, and in some places not very intelligible. If I were personally your enemy, I should dwell, with a malignant pleasure, upon those great and useful qualifications which you certainly possess, and by which you once acquired, though they could not preserve to you, the respect and esteem of your country ; I should enumerate the honours you have lost, and the virtues you have disgraced : but having no private resentments to gratify, I think it sufficient to have given my opinion of your public conduct, leaving the punishment it deserves to your closet and to yourself.

JUNIUS.

To your closet and to yourself.] I am afraid, that the use of the *closet* in this place, cannot be called happy. Not that a specious defence of the figure might not be found. But, after the ardour and majesty of the former part of the sentence, the manner in which *closet* is mentioned in the end of it, produces to the mind of the reader much of the effect of an anti-climax. How should his *closet* punish him, by any thing separate from the punishment of his own reflections?

LETTER XIX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

JUNIUS had alleged, in the Letter immediately preceding, that Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries, in order to represent faithfully the state of the law of England at the time when they were written, ought to have expressed all the causes of disqualification from serving in Parliament, which were then known to that law. He even bestowed the praise of affirming, that all the legal and known causes of such disqualification were faithfully exhibited in that excellent compendium of English jurisprudence. But he hence took occasion to reproach Blackstone so much the more severely, as an apostate from principles which he had solemnly recorded as his, and had recommended by his authority to the whole nation.

Even since the publication of the Letter in which these facts were the most distinctly explained, Blackstone had found an Advocate; who in a Letter to the Publisher of the St. James's Evening Post, imputed to JUNIUS, the absurdity of complaining, that the Commentaries of the Laws of England did not foretel events, as well as explain principles and institutions, did not anticipate the facts of the crimes, the expulsion, and the incapacitation of John Wilkes.

It did not escape the sagacity of JUNIUS, that this imputation, however egregiously false, might have its weight with those careless readers to whom a joke, or a malicious insinuation, is at any time better than a grave and candid argument, and who are apt to hasten away, with half apprehended misrepresentations upon their minds, as being too light and indifferent about truth, to use any pains of inquiry to discover it, unless it be urged unavoidably upon their notice.

He therefore hastened, in the person of PHILO-JUNIUS, to correct that writer's unjust charge. This was the object of the following short Letter.

In the first paragraph of this Letter, its author relates and refutes the misrepresentation of his new opponent. In the second paragraph,

he endeavours to confirm his own original statement, by a reference to the incidents of the debate in the House of Commons, in which Blackstone's Commentaries were successfully quoted against himself.

SIR,

14. August, 1769.

A CORRESPONDENT of the St. James's Evening-Post first wilfully misunderstands JUNIUS, then censures him for a bad reasoner. JUNIUS does not say that it was incumbent upon Doctor Blackstone to foresee and state the crimes for which Mr. Wilkes was expelled. If, by a spirit of prophecy, he had even done so, it would have been nothing to the purpose. The question is, not for what particular offences a person may be expelled; but generally, whether by the law of parliament expulsion alone creates a disqualification. If the affirmative be the law of parliament, Doctor Blackstone might and should have told us so. The question is not confined to this or that particular person, but forms one great general branch of disqualification, too important in itself, and too extensive in its consequences, to be omitted in an accurate work expressly treating of the law of parliament.

The truth of the matter is evidently this. Doctor Blackstone, while he was speaking in the House of Commons, never once thought of his Commentaries, until the contradiction was unexpectedly urged, and stared him in the face. Instead of defending himself

upon the spot, he sunk under the charge, in an agony of confusion and despair. It is well known, that there was a pause of some minutes in the house, from a general expectation that the Doctor would say something in his own defence; but it seems, his faculties were too much overpowered to think of those subtleties and refinements which have since occurred to him. It was then that Mr. Grenville received the severe chastisement, which the Doctor mentions with

Sunk under the charge, &c.] The labours of Lowth and of Johnson have been employed in vain. The barbarous anomalies of English speech are still renewed, perpetuated, and multiplied. Newspapers, magazines, reviews, and translations, are absolutely so many flower-beds of provincialisms, foreign idioms, colloquial barbarisms, and ignorant or affected violations of the most common proprieties of grammar. These are, much more than any other books, in the hands of the common reader. From these, even persons of liberal education, borrow the greater part of their phraseology for both speaking and writing. Hence is our language, in spite of the progress of literature, at least not more correct and pure than in the days of Swift and Addison. Instead of *sunk*, which is properly the participle perfect, JUNIUS ought to have here used *sank*, the only preterite of the verb *sink*. But, the vicious use of *sunk*, as a preterite, is, in defiance of analogy and classical authority, now almost universal. On the contrary, it is common with English writers, to use the preterite for the participle—*he had began*, for *he had begun*—*he had ran*, for *he had run*, &c. &c.—A practice so vicious cannot be too earnestly exploded.

It was then that Mr. Grenville received, &c.] Mr. Grenville, after triumphantly quoting Dr. Blackstone's book against the Doctor himself, paused for the Doctor's reply, and insultingly shook his head when he saw the Doctor remain fearfully silent. The interruption of the debate, and the still eager expectation of the house, moved Sir Fletcher Norton to interpose. The words of his interposition, though contemptuously mentioned by JUNIUS, were sufficiently facetious.

so much triumph. *I wish the honourable gentleman, instead of shaking his head, would shake a good argument out of it.* If to the elegance, novelty, and bitterness of this ingenious sarcasm, we add the natural melody of the amiable Sir Fletcher Norton's pipe, we shall not be surprised that Mr. Grenville was unable to make him any reply.

As to the Doctor I would recommend it to him to be quiet. If not, he may perhaps hear again from JUNIUS himself.

PHILO-JUNIUS.

Sir Fletcher Norton's pipe, &c.] Sir Fletcher, some of whose former promotions have been already mentioned, was upon the death of Sir John Cust, chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, on the 22d of January 1770. He sat, at this time, however, in that house, as a common member, among the crown lawyers. It was to assist a brother, that he interposed against Mr. Grenville.

Mr. Grenville had been bred a lawyer himself: and hence would naturally take a leading part in a question that was at once juridical and political.

I would recommend it to him to be quiet.] This is puny vapouring, unworthy of the talents and the wonted magnanimity of JUNIUS.

POSTSCRIPT TO A PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED

'AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION STATED.'

SUPPOSED TO BE WRITTEN BY DOCTOR BLACKSTONE,

SOLICITOR TO THE QUEEN,

IN ANSWER TO JUNIUS'S LETTER.

OF all the writers, with whose works I am acquainted, there is none whom JUNIUS more resembles in quick discernment of the weak part of an adversary's argument, in forcible refutation, in sharp humiliating reply, than CHILLINGWORTH, the author of the famous Vindication of the Religion of Protestants.

He has chosen, in this particular instance, to resemble that great writer, also, in the fair exposition of his opponent's arguments. CHILLINGWORTH incorporated with his own the book of KNOT; and exhibited each chapter of his adversary's composition immediately before that chapter of his own in which it was refuted. JUNIUS directed that portion of Blackstone's pamphlet, which was employed in the express contradiction of the doctrines advanced by him, to be here inserted in the collection of his Letters.

In this Postscript, indeed, Sir William Blackstone displays little of the acuteness and penetration of JUNIUS. He asserts, that the precedent of Walpole's temporary incapacitation entirely coincided, in all particulars, with the present case of that of Wilkes: he affirms, that the incapacity of a candidate must, of necessity, annihilate whatever votes were given in his favour: he avows that, in regard to this influence of the incapacity of a candidate annihilating the voices of the electors by whom he was preferred, the law had unaccountably changed since the time when, though Walpole, with a majority of voices in his favour, was rejected as incapable, yet his rival Taylor, the choice of a minority of the electors of Lynn Regis, was not, however, received as the legal representative of that borough.

His style is, in a considerable degree, natural, clear, and correct; yet, more verbose, and much less terse, than that of JUNIUS.

SINCE these papers were sent to the press, a writer in the public papers, who subscribes himself JUNIUS, has made a feint of bringing this question to a short issue. Though the foregoing observations contain, in my opinion, at least, a full refutation of all that this writer has offered, I shall, however, bestow a very few words upon him. It will cost me very little trouble to unravel and expose the sophistry of his argument.

“ I take the question,” says he, “ to be strictly this: Whether or no it be the known established law of parliament, that the expulsion of a member of the House of Commons, of itself, creates in him such an incapacity to be re-elected, that, at a subsequent election, any votes given to him are null and void; and that any other candidate who, except the person expelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member ?”

Waving, for the present, any objection I may have to this state of the question, I shall venture to meet our champion upon his own ground; and attempt to support the affirmative of it, in one of the two ways by which he says it can be alone fairly supported. “ If there be no statute,” says he, “ in which the specific disability is clearly created, &c. (and we acknowledge there is none) the custom of

It will cost me very little trouble, &c.] This boast is miserably belied in the progress of the paper.

parliament must then be referred to: and some case or cases, strictly in point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them." Now, I assert, that this has been done. Mr. Walpole's case is strictly in point, to prove that expulsion creates absolute incapacity of being re-elected. This was the clear decision of the house upon it; and was a full declaration, that incapacity was the necessary consequence of expulsion. The law was as clearly and firmly fixed by this resolution, and is as binding in every subsequent case of expulsion, as if it had been declared by an express statute, "That a member expelled by a resolution of the House of Commons shall be deemed incapable of being re-elected." Whatever doubt, then, there might have been of the law, before Mr. Walpole's case, with respect to the full operation of a vote of expulsion, there can be none now. The decision of the house, upon this case, is strictly in point, to prove that expulsion creates absolute incapacity in law of being re-elected.

But incapacity in law, in this instance, must have the same operation and effect with incapacity in law

That expulsion creates absolute incapacity in law of being re-elected.] The reader will afterwards find, from the faithful statement of JUNIUS, that the *incapacity* of Walpole, was not understood to arise from his expulsion solely, but from his expulsion taken together with the causes which ostensibly occasioned it, and the circumstances with which it was accompanied.

But, incapacity in law, in this instance, must have the same operation, &c.] The rights of electors, form a part so essentially fundamental of the British Constitution, that nothing is to be applied by loose analogy, in decision upon them. Nothing, but statutes

in every other instance. Now, incapacity of being re-elected implies, in its very terms, that any votes given to the incapable person, at a subsequent election, are null and void. This is its necessary operation, or it has no operation at all. It is *vox et præterea nihil*. We can no more be called upon to prove this proposition, than we can to prove that a dead man is not alive, or that twice two are four. When the terms are understood, the proposition is self-evident.

Lastly: It is, in all cases of election, the known and established law of the land, grounded upon the clearest principles of reason and common sense, that if the votes given to one candidate are null and void,

unequivocal, clear, and precise, or *precedents* of acknowledged authority and in every point coinciding without the slightest conceivable *difference*, can be accepted as rules by which to determine in any case *affecting* the first rights of parliamentary election. This is established beyond controversy, by natural reason and expediency, by the whole practice of the English law, by the judgment of the greatest lawyers,—not excepting even Blackstone himself.

But, the votes of the electors of Lynn Regis given for Mr. Walpole, at a time when he was incapable of re-election, were found to be *null, only in favour of him*, but *valid, in opposition to his rival*. Here was surely a distinction; and this distinction was established by a precedent to which all parties willingly appealed. It follows, then, that votes given in favour of an incapable person, whose incapacity had arisen from expulsion, were by the laws of England not absolutely null, but only null *quoad istum*.

If Blackstone could not discern this distinction, his penetration as a lawyer must have been very contemptible. If discerning, he yet chose to avoid acknowledging it, what shall we say of his honesty?

they cannot be opposed to the votes given to another candidate. They cannot affect the votes of such candidate at all. As they have, on the one hand, no positive quality to add or establish, so have they, on the other hand, no negative one to subtract or destroy. They are, in a word, a mere non-entity. Such was the determination of the House of Commons in the Malden and Bedford elections; cases strictly in point to the present question, as far as they are meant to be in point. And to say, that they are not in point, in all circumstances, in those particularly which are independent of the proposition which they are quoted to prove, is to say no more than that Malden is not Middlesex, nor Serjeant Comyns Mr. Wilkes.

Let us see then how our proof stands. Expulsion creates incapacity; incapacity annihilates any votes given to the incapable person. The votes given to the qualified candidate stand upon their own bottom, firm and untouched, and can alone have effect.

This, one would think, would be sufficient. But we are stopped short, and told, that none of our precedents come home to the present case; and are challenged to produce "a precedent in all the proceedings of the House of Commons that does come home to it, viz. *where an expelled member has been returned again, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member*".

Instead of a precedent, I will beg leave to put a case; which, I fancy, will be quite as decisive to the present point. Suppose another Sacheverel, (and every party must have its Sacheverel) should, at some future election, take it into his head to offer himself a candidate for the country of Middlesex. He is opposed by a candidate, whose coat is of a different colour; but, however of a very good colour.. The

Instead of a precedent, I will beg leave to put a case, &c.] The case here supposed is, that of votes given in favour of a clergyman. The following differences would necessarily exist between the case of that clergyman, and the case of Mr. Wilkes.

1. Clergymen had been always in the island, since the first existence of the House of Commons; yet had never been chosen into it, because their clerical duties were understood to be incompatible with the legislative functions of a member of that house.

But there was no previous instance, in the whole history of parliament, of any person expelled for the same crimes with Mr. Wilkes, re-elected in similar circumstances, and again re-elected in pertinacious opposition to the renewed expulsion of the Commons. In Wilkes's case, therefore, it was impossible that the law should be previously known. And ignorance and obstinacy, if violating no known law, are not to be punished by the taking away of their rights.

2. It was an unquestionable doctrine of the *common law*, confirmed by direct decisions, that a clergyman could not be a member of the House of Commons.

As to the case of Mr. Wilkes, the common law said, at least, nothing against him and his electors.

3. Clergymen had their proper representation in the Court of Convocation, whenever it was called.

But Mr. Wilkes, and the electors by whom he was chosen, could have no such refuge from the injury which they conceived themselves to suffer by the decision of the House of Commons.

All this, Blackstone could not but know. There is, then, extreme disingenuousness in his putting the case of the clergyman.

divine has an indisputable majority; nay, the poor layman is absolutely distanced. The sheriff, after having had his conscience well informed by the reverend casuist, returns him, as he supposes, duly elected. The whole house is in an uproar, at the apprehension of so strange an appearance amongst them. A motion, however, is at length made, that the person was incapable of being elected; that his election, therefore, is null and void; and that his competitor ought to have been returned. "No," says a great orator; "first shew me your law for this proceeding. Either produce me a statute, in which the specific disability of a clergyman is created; or, produce me a precedent, *where a clergyman has been returned, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member.*" No such statute, no such precedent to be found. What answer then is to be given to this demand? The very same answer which I will give to that of JUNIUS: That there is more than one precedent in the proceedings of the house—"where an incapable person has been returned, and another candidate with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member; and that this is the known and established law, in all cases of incapacity, from whatever cause it may arise."

I shall now therefore beg leave to make a slight amendment to JUNIUS's state of the question, the affirmative of which will then stand thus:

“ It is the known and established law of parliament, that the expulsion of any member of the House of Commons creates in him an incapacity of being re-elected; that any votes given to him at a subsequent election, are, in consequence of such incapacity, null and void; and that any other candidate who, except the person rendered incapable, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member.”

But our business is not yet quite finished. Mr. Walpole's case must have a re-hearing. “ It is not possible,” says this writer, “ to conceive a case more exactly in point. Mr. Walpole was expelled; and, having a majority of votes at the next election, was returned again. The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate set up by the ministry, petitioned the house that he might be the sitting member. Thus far the circumstances tally exactly, except that our House of Commons saved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. . The point of law, however, was the same. It came regularly before the house, and it was their business to determine upon it. They did determine it; for they declared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected*.”

Instead of examining the justness of this representation, I shall beg leave to oppose against it my own view of this case, in as plain a manner, and as few words, as I am able.

It was the known and established law of parliament, when the charge against Mr. Walpole came

before the House of Commons, that they had power to expel, to disable, and to render incapable for offences. In virtue of this power they expelled him.

Had they, in the very vote of expulsion, adjudged him, in terms, to be incapable of being re-elected, there must have been at once an end with him. But though the right of the house, both to expel, and adjudge incapable, was clear and indubitable, it does not appear to me, that the full operation and effect of a vote of expulsion singly was so. The law in this case had never been expressly declared. There had been no event to call up such a declaration. I trouble not myself with the grammatical meaning of the word expulsion. I regard only its legal meaning. This was not, as I think, precisely fixed. The house thought proper to fix it, and explicitly to declare the full consequences of their former vote, before they suffered these consequences to take effect. And in this proceeding they acted upon the most liberal and solid principles of equity, justice, and law. What then did the burgesses of

The house thought proper to fix it, &c.] The reader cannot but perceive, that Blackstone here imputes to that House of Commons who expelled Walpole, an intention which there is no express evidence of their having entertained. But, by such an assumption, even alone, his argument is utterly vitiated.

On the contrary; the probability is, that this House of Commons, being chiefly Tories, and wishing to have a Tory instead of a Whig representative of Lynn Regis, must have proceeded as far in Taylor's favour as they thought themselves at all warranted by the law of parliament.

Lynn collect from the second vote? Their subsequent conduct will tell us: it will with certainty tell us, that they considered it as decisive against Mr. Walpole: it will also, with equal certainty, tell us that, upon supposition that the law of election stood then, as it does now, and that they knew it to stand thus, they inferred, "that, at a future election, and in case of a similar return, the house would receive the same candidate, as duly elected, whom they had before rejected." They could infer nothing but this.

It is needless to repeat the circumstance of dissimilarity in the present case. It will be sufficient to observe, that as the law of parliament, upon which the House of Commons grounded every step of their proceedings, was clear beyond the reach of doubt, so neither could the freeholders of Middlesex be at a loss to foresee what must be the inevitable consequence of their proceedings in opposition to it. For, upon every return of Mr. Wilkes, the house made inquiry, whether any votes were given to any other candidate?

But I could venture, for the experiment's sake, even to give this writer the utmost he asks: to allow the most perfect similarity throughout in these two cases; to allow, that the law of expulsion was quite as clear to the burgesses of Lynn, as to the freeholders of Middlesex. It will, I am confident, avail his cause but little. It will only prove, that the law

of election, at that time, was different from the present law. It will prove, that in all cases of an incapable candidate, returned, the law then was, that the whole election should be void. But now we know that this is not law. The cases of Malden and Bedford were, as has been seen, determined upon other and more just principles. And these determinations are, I imagine, admitted on all sides to be law.

I would willingly draw a veil over the remaining part of this paper. It is astonishing, it is painful, to see men of parts and ability, giving into the most unworthy artifices, and descending so much below their true line of character. But, if they are not the dupes of their sophistry, (which is hardly to be conceived) let them consider that they are something much worse.

The dearest interests of this country are its laws and its constitution. Against every attack upon these, there will, I hope, be always found amongst us the firmest *spirit of resistance*, superior to the united efforts of faction and ambition. For ambition, though it does not always take the lead of faction, will be sure in the end to make the most fatal ad-

But now we know that this is not law.] Blackstone, here, with daring absurdity, ascribes to the House of Commons the whole authority of the three branches of the legislature.

Malden and Bedford, &c.] The incapacity of the persons chosen for these places, had been created by an act of the legislature, including King, Lords, and Commons.

vantage of it, and draw it to its own purposes. But, I trust, our day of trial is yet far off; and that there is *a fund of good sense in this country, which cannot long be deceived*, by the arts either of false reasoning or false patriotism.

LETTER XX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

THE object of this Letter is to refute the substance of the preceding Paper.

JUNIUS, first, laughs at the formality and labour of the ministerial pamphlets; then demonstrates the expulsion of Walpole to be inapplicable, as a precedent to justify that of Wilkes; produces the case of Mr. Wollaston, to prove that persons against whom there was nothing but expulsion barely, were legally re-eligible into the House of Commons; and concludes his reasonings, by proving, slightly, that there was extreme absurdity in quoting, in the present instance, the cases of Bedford and Malden, or introducing, for illustration, the case of the clergyman, which had been supposed by Blackstone.

Thus far, except only in the first paragraph, this Letter is written with extraordinary plainness. Its author shews a solicitude for nothing but clearness, precision, and force of argument. He abstains from all ornament, but that which consists in correctness of style, in a fit division of his sentences, in purity and propriety of phrase. But, having finished the argumentative part of his Letter, he rises, at once, into a strain of impassioned eloquence. At the very mention of the position, that the law of parliament in elections might have changed, simply by the fiat of the House of Commons, his whole soul seems to kindle into rage; and, to the close of the Letter, he goes on in a vehement flow of mingled argument and ardent sentiments, the most eloquent and the most impressive.

SIR,

8. August, 1769.

THE gentleman, who has published an answer to Sir William Meredith's pamphlet, having

honoured me with a postscript of six quarto pages, which he moderately calls bestowing a *very* few words upon me, I cannot, in common politeness, refuse him a reply. The form and magnitude of a quarto imposes upon the mind; and men, who are unequal to the labour of discussing an intricate argument, or wish to avoid it, are willing enough to suppose, that much has been proved, because much has been said. Mine, I confess, are humble labours. I do not presume to instruct the learned, but simply to inform the body of the people; and I prefer that channel of conveyance, which is likely to spread farthest among them. The advocates of the ministry seem to me to write for fame, and to flatter themselves, that the size of their works will make them immortal. They pile up reluctant quarto upon solid folio, as if their labours, because they are gigantic, could contend with truth and Heaven.

The writer of the volume in question, meets me upon my own ground. He acknowledges there is no statute, by which the specific disability we speak of, is created; but he affirms, that the custom of parlia-

I do not presume to instruct the learned, &c.] There is great art in this endeavour to prepossess the minds of readers, against the elaborate and bulky pamphlets of Blackstone and the other defenders of the obnoxious decision, as well as in favour of his own plainness. Every reader, I should suppose, must unavoidably feel this art successful.

As if their labours, because they are gigantic, could contend with truth and Heaven.] The reader easily perceives, that the metaphor, is here, blown up into bombast.

ment has been referred to, and that a case, strictly in point, has been produced, with the decision of the court upon it.—I thank him for coming so fairly to the point. He asserts, that the case of Mr. Walpole is strictly in point, to prove that expulsion creates an absolute incapacity of being re-elected ; and for this purpose, he refers generally to the first vote of the house upon that occasion, without venturing to recite the vote itself. The unfair, disingenuous artifice, of adopting that part of a precedent which seems to suit his purpose, and omitting the remainder, deserves some pity, but cannot excite my resentment. He takes advantage eagerly of the first resolution, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity is declared ; but as to the two following, by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared “ not duly elected,” and the election itself vacated, I dare say he would be well satisfied, if they were forever blotted out of the Journals of the House of Commons. In fair argument, no part of a precedent should be admitted, unless the whole of it be given to us together. The author has divided his precedent ; for he knew that, taken together, it produced a consequence directly the

To the point.] I would not entirely condemn the use of this phrase. Yet, when employed so often as in the pages of JUNIUS ; it certainly tends to give an air of vulgarity and indistinctness to the composition.

In fair argument, &c.] Here is an observation which evinces the author to have been well acquainted with the true principles of juridical discussion and evidence. However obvious and simple that observation may appear, the rule which it establishes is perpetually transgressed, even by those from whom one should think that such error and unfairness were the least to be expected.

reverse of that which he endeavours to draw from a vote of expulsion. But what will this honest person say, if I take him at his word, and demonstrate to him, that the House of Commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity upon his expulsion only ? What subterfuge will then remain ?

Let it be remembered, that we are speaking of the intention of men who lived more than half a century ago; and that such intention can only be collected from their words and actions, as they are delivered to us upon record. To prove their designs, by a supposition of what they would have done, opposed to what they actually did, is mere trifling and impertinence. The vote, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity was declared, is thus expressed : " That Robert Walpole, Esq. having been, this session of parliament, committed a prisoner to the tower, and expelled this house, for a high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption when Secretary at War, was, and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament*."

* It is well worth remarking, that the compiler of a certain quarto, called *The Case of the last Election for the County of Middlesex considered*, has the impudence to recite this very vote in the following terms, vide page 11. " Resolved, That Robert Walpole, Esq. having been that session of parliament expelled the house, was, and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present parliament." There cannot be a stronger positive proof of the treachery of the compiler, nor a stronger presumptive proof that he was convinced that the vote, if truly recited, would overturn his whole argument.

Now, Sir, to my understanding, no proposition of this kind, can be more evident, than that the House of Commons, by this very vote, themselves understood, and meant to declare, that Mr. Walpole's incapacity arose from the crimes he had committed, not from the punishment the house annexed to them. The high breach of trust, the notorious corruption are stated in the strongest terms. They do not tell us that he was incapable, because he was expelled, but because he had been guilty of such offences, as justly rendered him unworthy of a seat in parliament. If they had intended to fix the disability upon his expulsion alone, the mention of his crimes, in the same vote, would have been highly improper. It could only perplex the minds of the electors; who, if they collected any thing from so confused a declaration of the law of parliament, must have concluded, that their representative had been declared incapable, because he was highly guilty, not because he had been punished. But, even admitting them to have understood it in the other sense, they must then, from the very terms of the vote, have united the idea of his being sent to the Tower with that of his expulsion, and considered his incapacity as the joint effect of both.

Now, Sir, to my understanding, &c.] Here too, we find one of those nice and masterly discriminations, which bespeak native subtlety and penetration of mind, eminently improved by the study of logic, and of its application in law arguments. This piece of reasoning extends to the end of the paragraph.

I do not mean to give an opinion upon the justice of the proceedings of the House of Commons with regard to Mr. Walpole ; but certainly, if I admitted their censure to be well-founded, I could no way avoid agreeing with them in the consequence they draw from it. I could never have a doubt, in law or reason, that a man convicted of a high breach of trust, and of a notorious corruption in the execution of a public office, was, and ought to be, incapable of sitting in the same parliament. Far from attempting to invalidate that vote, I should have wished that the incapacity declared by it, could legally have been continued forever.

Now, Sir, observe how forcibly the argument returns. The House of Commons, upon the face of their proceedings, had the strongest motives to declare Mr. Walpole incapable of being re-elected. They thought such a man unworthy to sit among them.—To that point they proceeded, and no farther: for they respected the rights of the people, while they asserted their own. They did not infer, from Mr. Walpole's incapacity, that his opponent

Now, Sir, observe how forcibly the argument returns.] This, also, is masterly. The force of the argument is, that if, even when a man had been declared incapable of re-election, not simply for being expelled the house, but on account more especially of the flagrant crimes which occasioned his expulsion, the votes given for this man at a subsequent election were not annulled: by the same rule, much less ought those votes to be declared null, which were given in favour of a man whose incapacity of re-election was avowedly founded on his expulsion solely.

was duly elected; on the contrary, they declared Mr. Taylor "not duly elected," and the election itself void.

Such, however, is the precedent, which my honest friend assures us, is strictly in point to prove, that expulsion, of itself, creates an incapacity of being elected. If it had been so, the present House of Commons should at least have followed strictly, the example before them, and should have stated to us, in the same vote, the crimes for which they expelled Mr. Wilkes; whereas they resolve simply, that, "having been expelled, he was, and is, incapable." In this proceeding, I am authorized to affirm, they have neither statute, nor custom, nor reason, nor one single precedent, to support them. On the other side, there is indeed a precedent so strongly in point, that all the enchanted castles of ministerial magic fall before it. In the year 1698, (a period which the rankest Tory dare not except against) Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament. The ministry have precluded themselves from all objections drawn from the cause of his expulsion; for they affirm, absolutely, that expulsion of itself creates the disability. Now, Sir, let sophistry evade, let falsehood assert, and

My honest friend, &c.] I do not perceive, that the use of this language of contemptuous familiarity, lends any advantage to JUNIUS in the prosecution of his argument.

Mr. Wollaston was expelled, &c.] The case of Mr. Wollaston is more particularly mentioned in a subsequent Paper.

impudence deny—here stands the precedent, a land-mark to direct us through a troubled sea of controversy, conspicuous and unremoved.

I have dwelt the longer upon the discussion of this point, because, in *my* opinion, it comprehends the whole question. The rest is unworthy of notice. We are inquiring, whether incapacity be or be not created by expulsion. In the cases of Bedford and Malden, the incapacity of the persons returned, was matter of public notoriety, for it was created by act of parliament. But, really, Sir, my honest friend's suppositions are as unfavourable to him as his facts. He well knows, that the clergy, besides that they are represented in common with their fellow-subjects, have also a separate parliament of their own;—that their incapacity to sit in the House of Commons, has been confirmed by repeated decisions of the house; and that the law of parliament, declared by those decisions, has been, for above two centuries, notorious and undisputed. The author is certainly at liberty to fancy cases, and make whatever comparisons he thinks proper; his suppositions still continue as distant from fact, as his wild discourses are from solid argument.

The conclusion of his book is candid to extreme. He offers to grant me all I desire. He thinks he may safely admit, that the case of Mr. Walpole makes directly against him; for it seems, he has one grand solution *in petto* for all difficulties. *If*, says he, *I were*

to allow all this, it will only prove, that the law of election was different, in Queen Anne's time, from what it is at present.

This, indeed, is more than I expected. The principle, I know, has been maintained in fact; but I never expected to see it so formally declared. What can he mean? Does he assume this language, to satisfy the doubts of the people, or does he mean to rouse their indignation? Are the ministry daring enough to affirm, that the House of Commons have a right to make and unmake the law of parliament, at their pleasure?—Does the law of parliament, which we are so often told is the law of the land;—does the common right of every subject of the realm, depend upon an arbitrary, capricious vote, of one branch of the legislature?—The voice of truth and reason must be silent.

The ministry tell us plainly, that this is no longer a question of right, but of power and force alone.

What can he mean?] Here is an instance of oratorical skill, that can never be enough admired. To have argued calmly and subtly against the extravagance of affirming that the House of Commons might usurp, at pleasure, any new powers, would have implied a sort of concession, and might have brought into danger the very principle it was used to defend. JUNIUS, therefore, although he had, in the previous part of his Letter, proceeded with a stern rejection of all figures and ornament, yet, at the very mention of such unbounded claims of the House of Commons, bursts out at once into a storm of indignant and interrogative sentiment, which hurries away and overwhelms all attempts at answer or resistance.

The ministry tell us plainly, &c.] The purpose of this paragraph is, to state, in a manner the most provoking to the feelings of the

What was law yesterday, is not law to-day : and now, it seems, we have no better rule to live by, than the temporary discretion and fluctuating integrity of the House of Commons.

Professions of patriotism are become stale and ridiculous. For my own part, I claim no merit from endeavouring to do a service to my fellow subjects. I have done it to the best of my understanding ; and, without looking for the approbation of other men, my conscience is satisfied. What remains to be done, concerns the collective body of the people. They are now to determine for themselves, whether they will firmly and constitutionally assert their rights ; or make an humble, slavish surrender of them, at the feet of the ministry. To a generous mind, there cannot be a doubt. We owe it to our ancestors, to preserve entire those rights which they have delivered to our care : we owe it to our posterity, not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed. But, if it were possible for us to be insensible of these sacred claims, there is yet an obligation binding upon ourselves, from which nothing can acquit us ;—a

people, that usurpation of supreme power, which JUNIUS alleged that his adversary was willing to justify in the House of Commons.

Professions of patriotism are become stale and ridiculous, &c.] JUNIUS ought to have here used have become. Become, be, are both verbs merely of existence. Whenever, therefore, any of their parts are used in combination, these parts ought to agree in time. To say are become, is just as absurdly incorrect, as if one should say, are been.

personal interest, which we cannot surrender. To alienate even our own rights, would be a crime as much more enormous than suicide, as a life of civil security and freedom is superior to a bare existence ; and if life be the bounty of Heaven, we scornfully reject the noblest part of the gift, if we consent to surrender that certain rule of living, without which, the condition of human nature is not only miserable, but contemptible.

JUNIUS.

To surrender that certain rule of living, &c.] The idea of the freedom of virtue, is here associated with that of political freedom, in a manner that seems to represent the former as impossible without the latter. The whole train of this concluding paragraph of the Letter, composes a noble and interesting peroration.

LETTER XX*.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

This Letter, published at a date long subsequent to that of the last preceding one, was intended chiefly to produce, in defence of JUNIUS's explanation of that resolution of the House of Commons, which declared Mr. Walpole incapable of immediate re-election, an authority no less respectable than that of Lord Sommers, clearly expressed in his interpretation of the famous convention at the revolution, by which King James was declared to have abdicated the throne. The mutual resemblance of the combination of the members in the two sentences compared, is precise and complete; as is, also, that of the two interpretations of JUNIUS and Lord Sommers. For the rest, a part of this Letter is very correctly and properly employed in explaining the importance of recalling the attention of the people to the subject of the Middlesex election, till the injury they had suffered by the decision upon it should be finally redressed.

It should seem that JUNIUS had, in truth, just casually lighted on the passage, in which he found himself supported by the great constitutional authority of Lord Sommers; and thought it of too great consequence to be carelessly suppressed.

This Letter is, notwithstanding its date, inserted here, because its reference is to the train of argument in the last preceding Letter, and because the author appears to have himself directed that it should accompany that Letter.

SIR,

22. May, 1771.

VERY early in the debate upon the decision of the Middlesex election, it was observed by JUNIUS, that the House of Commons had not only exceeded their boasted precedent of the expulsion, and

subsequent incapacitation of Mr. Walpole, but that they had not even adhered to it strictly as far as it went. After convicting Mr. Dyson of giving a false quotation from the Journals, and having explained the purpose which that contemptible fraud was intended to answer; he proceeds to state the vote itself, by which Mr. Walpole's supposed incapacity was declared, viz.—“Resolved, that Robert Walpole, Esq. having been, this session of parliament, committed a prisoner to the Tower, and expelled this house for a high breach of trust, in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption when Secretary at War, was, and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament:”—and then observes, “that, from the terms of the vote, we have no right to annex the incapacitation to the *expulsion* only; for that, as the proposition stands, it must arise equally from the expulsion and the commitment to the Tower.” I believe, Sir, no man who knows any thing of Dialectics, or who understands English, will dispute the truth and fairness of this construction. But JUNIUS has a great authority to support him; which, to speak with the Duke of Grafton, I

Convicting Mr. Dyson, &c.] Mr. Jeremiah Dyson, the friend of Aikenside, was one of the clerks to the House of Commons, and a writer in the war of pamphlets, on the subject of the Middlesex election. Although, in common life, a worthy man, he *had* been guilty of that uncandid and pitiful inaccuracy of quotation, which JUNIUS is here said to have detected.

To speak with the Duke of Grafton, &c.] JUNIUS wishes, here, to ridicule the Duke, as making an ostentation of reading, to which he was little accustomed; and as boasting of having lighted easily

accidentally met with this morning, in the course of my reading. It contains an admonition, which cannot be repeated too often. Lord Sommers, in his excellent tract upon the Rights of the People, after reciting the votes of the convention of the 28. of January 1689, viz.—“ That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom, by breaking the original contract between King and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, hath abdicated the government,” &c.—makes this observation upon it : “ The word *abdicated* relates to *all* the clauses foregoing, as well as to his deserting the kingdom, or else they would have been wholly in vain.” And that there might be no pretence for confining the *abdication* merely to the *withdrawing*, Lord Sommers farther observes, “ that King James, by refusing to govern us according to that law by which he held the Crown, implicitly renounced his title to it.”

If JUNIUS's construction of the vote against Mr. Walpole be now admitted, (and indeed I cannot comprehend how it can honestly be disputed) the advocates of the House of Commons must either give up their precedent entirely, or be reduced to the neces-

on something that had probably been found for him with the exertion of great pains. But, this is malignity and injustice. The Duke of Grafton is confessedly a scholar; and is accustomed to find one of his favourite pleasures in a frequent converse with books.

sity of maintaining one of the grossest absurdities imaginable, viz. "That a commitment to the Tower is a constituent part of, and contributes half at least to, the incapacitation of the person who suffers it."

I need not make you any excuse for endeavouring to keep alive the attention of the public to the decision of the Middlesex election. The more I consider it, the more I am convinced that, as *a fact*, it is, indeed highly injurious to the rights of the people; but that, as a *precedent*, it is one of the most dangerous that ever was established against those who are to come after us. Yet, I am so far a moderate man, that I verily believe the majority of the House of Commons, when they passed this dangerous vote, neither understood the question, nor knew the consequence of what they were doing. Their motives were rather despicable, than criminal, in the extreme. One effect they certainly did not foresee. They are now reduced to such a situation, that if a member of the present House of Commons were to conduct himself ever so improperly, and in reality deserve to be sent back to his constituents, with a mark of disgrace, they would not dare to expel him; because they know that the people, in order to try again the great question of right, or to thwart an odious House of Commons, would probably overlook

[*Yet, I am so far a moderate man, &c.*] This observation is probably true. It, at least, eminently evinces JUNIUS's power of deep insight into human nature. The same praise is due to the concluding period of his Letter.

his immediate unworthiness, and return the same person to parliament.—But, in time, the precedent will gain strength. A future House of Commons will have no such apprehensions; consequently, will not scruple to follow a precedent which they did not establish. The Miser himself seldom lives to enjoy the fruit of his extortion; but his heir succeeds him of course, and takes possession without censure. No man expects him to make restitution; and, no matter for his title, he lives quietly upon the estate.

PHILO-JUNIUS.

LETTER XXI.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

THIS short Letter is a sort of Comment on what was advanced, particularly in the last but one immediately preceding. It states, anew, certain of the positions in that Letter, which, though stated before with a clearness and precision which one should have supposed impossible to be misunderstood, had however been wrested from the purpose of the author by the ignorance or artifice of his adversaries.

The Letter seems to possess the excellence of containing scarcely either a word too little, or one too much.

SIR,

22. August, 1769.

I MUST beg of you to print a few lines, in explanation of some passages in my last letter, which, I see, have been misunderstood.

1. When I said, that the House of Commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity on his expulsion *only*; I meant no more than to deny the general proposition, that expulsion *alone* creates the incapacity. If there be any thing ambiguous in the expression, I beg leave to explain it, by saying that, in my opinion, expulsion neither creates, nor in any part contributes to create, the incapacity in question.

2. I carefully avoided entering into the merits of Mr. Walpole's case. I did not inquire, whether the

House of Commons acted justly, or whether they truly declared the law of parliament. My remarks went only to their apparent meaning and intention, as it stands declared in their own resolution.

3. I never meant to affirm, that a commitment to the Tower created a disqualification. On the contrary, I considered that idea as an absurdity, into which the ministry must inevitably fall, if they reasoned right upon their own principle.

The case of Mr. Wollaston speaks for itself. The ministry assert, that *expulsion alone* creates an absolute, complete incapacity, to be re-elected to sit in the same parliament. This proposition they have uniformly maintained, without any condition or modification whatsoever. Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament.—I leave it to the public to determine, whether this be a plain matter of fact, or mere nonsense or declamation.

JUNIUS.

The case of Mr. Wollaston, &c.] Mr. Wollaston had accepted an office which was accounted incompatible with the duties of a member of the House of Commons. As he did not voluntarily relinquish his seat, he was expelled from the house. He then resigned his office ; and, being re-elected, was without opposition permitted to resume his functions as a legislator.

LETTER XXII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

A PERSON inexperienced in the business of life, is apt to think that, in order to bring men to comprehend and believe any particular position, he has nothing more to do than incontrovertibly demonstrate its truth. But, to ascertain and demonstrate the truth, is the smallest part of the duty of an orator, or controversial reasoner. To conquer the wishes of your opponents; to steal upon their attention; to lay asleep their prejudices as with an opiate charm, or strike them suddenly low as with a thunder-bolt; to soften obstinate incredulity; and to force perception upon careless blind stupidity: these are the great tasks of the power of eloquence; tasks which would demand genius above what was ever bestowed on mortal man. The simplest truth must be set, perhaps, in a thousand different lights, before it shall be discerned by the mind you wish to inform. You must try now didactic plainness, now ornament and splendor; you must now dilate in ample illustration, and now flash the truth upon your hearer's or reader's mind, as if you expected him to discern it by intuition. The wily artifices of the fowler, the huntsman, or the angler, are but faint emblems of the arts which the persuasive reasoner and the eloquent orator must employ, to ensnare the belief of unintelligent and unwilling minds.

In all these arts, JUNIUS is incomparably excellent. The whole series of the controversy concerning the Middlesex election, has amply proved his power in this respect. The truth was easily demonstrated: but, he knew also how to put it in all the various lights necessary to convince those to whom he wrote. After the different modes of reasoning which he had before employed, he here tries, in combination with the closest logic, a strain of irony by which the best wit of SWIFT is more than rivalled.

4. September, 1769.

ARGUMENT against FACT; or, A New System of Political Logic, by which the Ministry have demonstrated, to the satisfaction of their friends, that expulsion alone creates a complete incapacity to be re-elected; *alias*, that a subject of this realm may be robbed of his common right, by a vote of the House of Commons.

FIRST FACT.

MR. *Wollaston*, in 1698, was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat.

ARGUMENT.

As this cannot conveniently be reconciled with our general proposition, it may be necessary to shift our ground, and look back to the *cause* of Mr. *Wollaston's* expulsion. From thence, it will appear clearly that, "although he was expelled, he had not rendered himself a culprit too ignominious to sit in parliament; and that, having resigned his employment, he was no longer incapacitated by law." *Vide Serious Considerations*, page 23. Or thus: "The house, somewhat *inaccurately*, used the word **EXPULLED**; they should have called it **A MOTION**, *Vide Mungo's*

Argument against Fact, &c.] This period contains the title of the subsequent train of the Letter. It is plainer than to require illustration. But, the reader who chooses to fix his attention particularly upon it, may perceive that its irony is exceedingly happy, and that each phrase, each word, contributes to perfect the wit and strong meaning of the whole sentence.

Case considered, page 11. Or, in short, if these arguments should be thought insufficient, we may fairly deny the fact. For example: "I affirm that he was not re-elected. The same Mr. Wollaston, who was expelled, was not again elected. The same individual, if you please, walked into the house, and took his seat there; but the same person, in law, was not admitted a member of that parliament from which he had been discarded. *Vide letter to JUNIUS, page 12.*

SECOND FACT.

MR. WALPOLE *having been committed to the Tower, and expelled for a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption in a public office, was declared incapable, &c.*

ARGUMENT.

From the terms of this vote, nothing can be more evident, than that the House of Commons meant to fix the incapacity upon the punishment, and not upon the crime; but, lest it should appear in a different light to weak, uninformed persons it may be advisable to gut the resolution, and give it to the public, with all possible solemnity, in the following terms, viz.—“Resolved, that Robert Walpole, Esq. having

The same Mr. Wollaston, &c.] These are genuine quotations. But, in the pamphlets from which they are quoted, they wear not quite so striking an air of absurdity as here. It is the comment of JUNIUS, that sets off the absurdity with its full effect.

Robert Walpole, Esq.] It were injustice, if we suffered the name of so eminent a person as Sir Robert Walpole, to be so often repeat-

been, that session of parliament, expelled the house was, and is, incapable of being elected a member

ed in these pages, without introducing a few hints concerning his life and character.

He was the son of a country gentleman of Norfolk. The early destination of his life was for a learned profession. But, his elder brother dying young, he became heir-apparent to the family-estate, and was, from that time, educated for the life of a gentleman without a profession. From the University, he was called home to assist his father in country-business, and for a time approved himself a keen sportsman, and no unskilful drover. He came young into parliament, because the family-interest could command a seat. He was, from the first, forward and active, aspiring to distinguish himself as a speaker and a man of business. Under the Whig ministry of the first part of the reign of Queen Anne, he attained, though a young man, to the place of Secretary at War. He and St. John were then rivals. But, he could not match the comprehensive mind, nor the awe-commanding eloquence of St. John. While St. John was called to act a leading part in the Tory ministry of Harley; Walpole attached himself closely to the cause of the Whigs, and built all the hopes of his avarice and ambition, upon the prospect of its final success. His expulsion from the House of Commons, was certainly deserved by the act of corruption with which he appeared to have polluted his hands while in office. But, it was less because he was corrupt, than because his activity and speeches made him truly formidable in parliament, that he was expelled and committed to the Tower. St. John was then the leading minister, and by far the greatest orator in the House of Commons: and it was, no doubt, under St. John's direction, that Walpole was so overwhelmed with disgrace. His sufferings were accounted merit, and the memory of his guilt was forgotten, upon the accession of George the First to the British throne. The great Whig ministers, under whom Walpole had formerly served, were now superannuated or dead. Their successors were men of inferior talents, less popular characters, and smaller practice in business than Walpole. He was not eloquent; but, he had a facility of speaking fluently, clearly, and with a knowledge of the pecuniary part of public affairs, which, in the House of Commons, and in the absence or humiliation of the great

to serve in that present parliament." *Vide Mungo, on the use of Quotations, page 11.*

Tory orators, answered all the purposes of eloquence for himself and for his party. Sunderland, and other Whigs, were willing to prevent his farther rise; but, by the force of talents for the business of the House of Commons, and of the Exchequer, he gradually triumphed over all the unkind practices of their jealousy. He was a keen agent in the prosecution of the Tory ministers of Queen Anne. In every great transaction of the time, he had a conspicuous part. His character was much more popular than that of Sunderland. The *South Sea* business was, at last, *the making of him*. He, and his wife, gained considerably by purchases of South Sea stock when it was low, which they sold when its price had risen to be enormously high: And, by the bursting of the South Sea bubble, the Ministers by whom his ambition had been thwarted, were reduced to difficulties from which they could not extricate themselves, without invoking his aid, and resigning the power of the government into his hands. From that period, throughout the reign of George the First, he retained the authority of Chief Minister. His former rival, St. John, was during this time permitted to return from exile. But, Walpole had the art to hinder him from being restored to his seat in parliament, and thus to prevent him from returning into any competition with himself for power. By a bribe to the favourite mistress of the old monarch; and on account of a suspicion which *he* began to entertain, that the Tories might be reconciled to his family by conciliating treatment; King George the First was, not long before his death, almost engaged to dismiss Walpole, and make St. John his Minister. But, he died before this design could be carried into effect; and *George the Second*, at his accession to the throne, found Walpole at the head of the Treasury. To this monarch, the minister was then personally disagreeable; and his dismissal was resolved upon. But the King was soon persuaded, that none but Walpole could manage the business of government in the House of Commons: and he was therefore established in his power more securely than before. He had the art to pretend entire devotedness to the interests of the royal family, with perfect submission to the wisdom of the Queen; and she became, therefore, his protector with the King. A distribution of offices according to parliamentary

N. B. The author of the answer to Sir William Meredith, seems to have made use of Mungo's quo-

interest; a due use of secret service money; eternal negotiations and intrigues; calumny of all the Tories, as if they were Jacobites, and of all the Whigs who opposed him in parliament, as if they were Tories; with some tolerable skill in the conduct of the business of the Exchequer; were all the arts of government of which Walpole was master. He contrived to make his Sovereign believe, too, that if any other person were first minister, the Stuarts would be restored to the throne. Yet, a party in parliament became at length sufficiently strong to drive him from his ministerial power. They were roused, and strengthened, and knit together, and animated in the pursuit, by his former rival St. John; who, though excluded from parliament, was still the most formidable of all his foes. He was threatened with impeachment. But his artifices, and the disunion of his enemies, averted that danger. He was raised to the dignity of Earl of Orford; and was left to spend his last years in not unhonoured retirement. He was not an able nor a virtuous minister: but he possessed those secondary talents which often fill ministerial offices with more utility to their possessor, than is to be derived from genius the most splendid, and virtue the most uncorrupt. If the British empire prospered during his administration; it was less by the influence of government, than in consequence of the advantages of the peace of Utrecht, by the exercise of private industry, and by the gradual accumulation of private wealth.

I cannot prevail with myself to conclude this note, without adding somewhat of additional illustration, relative to Walpole's concern in the business of the SOUTH-SEA COMPANY. The Earl of Oxford, in making the necessary financial settlements, at the time of the peace of Utrecht, offered a monopoly of the advantages of that trade with Spanish America, which the treaty secured for Britain, to a company—that, being legally incorporated, should purchase from the present creditors, the sum of about ten millions of fluctuating national debt, which had been created in the progress of the war,—and that, in consideration of the advantages to be derived from the trade which they were to monopolize, should consent to receive a moderate rate of interest for the debt in which they were to become the creditors of government. This scheme was an exceedingly well

tation; for, in page 18, he assures us, "That the declaratory vote of the 17th of February, 1769, was,

conceived one. It enabled the Treasury to maintain its credit upon reasonable pecuniary terms, at a time when the Whigs were using every artifice to destroy that credit; and it tended to render the trade to the South Seas as lucrative as possible to the nation, by putting it into the hands of a great company, at a time when something more was requisite to its success, than the petty and uncertain adventures of unconnected individuals. Though the trade did not immediately prove so lucrative as had been expected; yet the arrangement was, on the whole, so judicious, that both government and the members of the South-Sea Company, found themselves gainers by the bargain. Even the accession of a new family to the throne, the mischiefs of a rebellion, and the impeachment of the ministers by whom the company was established, could not shake its prosperity. Within about six years from the time of its institution, the company became desirous of acquiring the property of the whole national debt that could be transferred to it; and government saw that there might be advantage to itself in the transference. *This mutual disposition of both government and the members of the company, is to be considered as an unambiguous, decisive proof, that the scheme of the Earl of Oxford had, on actual trial, turned out happily.* A plan was prepared, under the direction of the Earl of Sunderland, for enabling the South-Sea Company to enlarge their capital, and make themselves proprietors of the whole national debt. This plan, too, was a rational and mutually advantageous one, as it was first proposed, and laid before parliament. Adapted, no doubt it was, to afford some private advantages to the persons chiefly concerned in carrying it into execution. In all other respects, every thing about it was well. Thus was it proposed to the House of Commons by Aislaibie, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. Walpole, then, for a short time in opposition, proposed that the scheme should, indeed, be adopted, but *that the Bank, and other public bodies, should be encouraged to bid in competition with the South-Sea Company.* This was the sole origin of all the mischief which ensued; and of this, let it be remembered, that Walpole alone was the author. The proposed competition was encouraged. The Bank offered for the bargain, a premium of more than five millions. The South-Sea

indeed a literal copy of the resolution of the house in Mr. Walpole's case."

Company had, at first, offered only about three millions in premium: but, lest the Bank should snatch it from them, they now raised their offer to more than seven millions; and it was accepted. But, to pay to government a premium of more than seven millions; to bestow those private gratifications which were expected by the promoters of the bargain; to derive from the whole transaction sufficient profits to the company; and to allure the public to make the necessary augmentation of its capital; extraordinary exertions and artifices of the directors, and the other leading proprietors, became necessary. The keen competition with which the bargain had been sought, prepared the nation to think it a very lucrative one; and all were eager to obtain a share in that which the South-Sea Company triumphed in having even so dearly bought. The court, the ministry, the directors, talked of vast immediate profits, and of future advantages to be great beyond what calculation could estimate. All other sorts of marketable stock appearing to be so much less profitable, rapidly fell in price from the comparison; and the proprietors dreading their lower fall, were solicitous to exchange them for South-Sea Stock, at whatever price it might be purchased. The public readily lent their aid to those who strove to gull them. Every one indulged for himself hopes the most extravagant, and encouraged others to do the same. The company received, by the sale of shares of its new stock, profits vast, yet still exceedingly inadequate to what it had engaged to pay to government, to the dividends which were expected upon the stock, and to the expense at which the management of its affairs was now carried on. Hence, as soon as imagination had exhausted its power in fancying extravagant gains to be derived from sharing in the stock of the company; as soon as many became desirous to receive their profits instantly, by selling that stock while its price was perhaps ten times what they had paid for it; as soon as the company began to be earnestly called to fulfil its engagements: it was at once understood, that their bargain with government was a very disadvantageous one; that they could make no dividends at all proportionate to the expectations of the public; that their capital might perhaps be forfeited to the state, on account of their failure in their engagements; that artifice and

THIRD FACT.

His opponent, Mr. Taylor, having the smallest number of votes at the next election, was declared NOT DULY ELECTED.

ignorant credulity had alone created all that wildly magnificent promise by which the nation had deluded itself. A very great part of those who were now proprietors of the South-Sea Stock, had purchased it, not at the original and equal price, below which it could not fall without a violation of the company's engagements, but at one of those higher prices to which it had been by artifice and vain hope advanced. And these persons were now, of course, to lose the difference between the price at which they had bought, and that for which their stock would certainly find, at any time, a ready sale. They who had bought at the first price, were immediately to lose nothing but hope: but then they had made this hope, in many instances, the rule of their expense, and the principle of their conduct. The whole nation had lost no wealth by the affair, save what little they might be tempted to squander in unproductive luxury: yet when they found that immense opulence which the South-Sea Company had seemed to create, to be but the delusion of a dream, they could not help fancying, as if they had been suddenly robbed of great actual possessions, and as if the kingdom had been suddenly beggared by the diminution of the ideal value of the South-Sea Stock. The bankruptcy of the company was still fearfully expected; and this, it was supposed, could not take place, without bringing with it the subversion of the government, and the utter ruin of the state. Whatever any buyers had lost by the purchase of stock at too high a price, had been necessarily gained by the sellers, by whom it was sold at a price so much dearer than that for which it had been bought: but, the gainers were now silent, while the losers raised the loudest and most frantic clamours. Amidst the general distress, the aid of Walpole was solicited by the government. His first proposal was, to maintain the bargain for the benefit of the Exchequer, by obliging the Bank Company, and the East-India Company, to become sharers in the engagements of the South-Sea Company. This plan would have secured to government its seven millions; but might have involved all the three companies in the same embar-

ARGUMENT.

This fact we consider as directly in point, to prove that Mr. Luttrell ought to be the sitting member, for the following reasons: "The burgesses of Lynn could draw no other inference from this resolution, but this, that at a future election, and in case of a similar return, the house would receive the same candidate as duly elected, whom they had before rejected." *Vide Postscript to JUNIUS, page 37.* Or thus: "This their resolution leaves no room to doubt what part they *would* have taken, if, upon a subsequent re-election of Mr. Walpole, there had been any other candidate in competition with him. For, by their

rassments. It was rejected. And, in the end, the only resource was found in the *relieving of the South-Sea Company from the payment of the premium* that had been stipulated to government, and in the *confiscation of the estates of the directors*, whose imprudence had rashly engaged the proprietors in a transaction so ruinous, whose artifices had deluded the public in respect to the true nature of that transaction, and who were said to have embezzled, for their own use, almost all that was supposed to be lost. By these means, the company was enabled to fulfil its engagements with government, and with its creditors; to pay ample dividends upon its capital; and to preserve its stock in due reputation in the market. But, these were the measures of necessity and of revenge, not at all dictated by the financial wisdom or the virtue of Walpole.

I have entered into this detail of the particulars of what is called the SOUTH-SEA BUBBLE; because I do not know them to have been any where, hitherto, stated with due ingenuousness and intelligence; as well as because I wished to evince, that Walpole was, *in truth*, more than any one else, the author of all the mischiefs of that bubble, and that the merit of calming the storm, though he was so much a gainer by it, is not at all to be ascribed to his counsels, but to the natural and necessary progress of things.

vote, they could have no other intention than to admit such other candidate." *Vide Mungo's case considered, page 39.* Or take it in this light.—The burgesses of Lynn having, in defiance of the house, retorted upon them a person whom they had branded with the most ignominious marks of their displeasure, were thereby so well entitled to favour and indulgence, that the house could do no less than rob Mr. Taylor of a right legally vested in him, in order that the burgesses might be apprized of the law of parliament; which law, the house took a very direct way of explaining to them, by resolving that the candidate with the fewest votes, was not duly elected:—"And was not this much more equitable, more in the spirit of that equal and substantial justice, which is the end of all law, than if they had violently adhered to the strict maxims of law? *Vide Serious Considerations, page 33 and 34.* "And if the present House of Commons had chosen to follow the spirit of this resolution, they would have received and established the candidate with the fewest votes." *Vide Answer to Sir W. M. page 18.*

Permit me now, Sir, to shew you, that the worthy Doctor Blackstone sometimes contradicts the ministry as well as himself. The speech without doors, asserts, page 9, "that the legal effect of an incapacity, founded on a judicial determination of a complete court, is precisely the same as that of an incapacity created by act of parliament." Now for the Doctor.—*The law and the opinion of the judge are not always*

convertible terms, or one and the same thing; since it sometimes may happen, that the judge may mistake the law. Commentaries, Vol. I. page 71.

The Answer to Sir W. M. asserts, page 23, "That the returning officer is not a judicial, but a purely ministerial officer. His return is no judicial act."—At 'em again, Doctor. *The sheriff, in his judicial capacity, is to hear and determine causes of forty shillings value and under, in his county court. He has also a judicial power in divers other civil cases. He is likewise to decide the elections of knights of the shire (subject to the controul of the House of Commons) to judge of the qualification of voters, and to return such as he shall DETERMINE to be duly elected. Vide Commentaries. Vol. I. page 332.*

What conclusion shall we draw from such facts, such arguments and such contradictions? I cannot express my opinion of the present ministry, more exactly, than in the words of Sir Richard Steele,

In the words of Sir Richard Steele, &c.] These words are a quotation from an admirable pamphlet of Steele's on the South-Sea business. It was supposed to have been written by Walpole and Steele conjunctly. But Steele seems to have been as much superior to Walpole, in the knowledge of matters of trade and national revenue, as in the art of elegant writing. The pamphlet of which I here speak, has been republished by Mr. Nicholls.

It may not be improper here to contrast the whole strength of the ministerial arguments in favour of the decision of the House of Commons, in the case of the Middlesex election, with those which have been urged by JUNIUS, to prove the illegality of that decision. The ministerial cause was argued by Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his

"that we are governed by a set of drivellers, whose folly takes away all dignity from distress, and makes even calamity ridiculous."

PHILO-JUNIUS.

pamphlet of *THE FALSE ALARM*, much better than by any one else who undertook to plead it.

The following is, therefore, a summary of Johnson's arguments.

1. Wilkes was so very worthless a fellow, that the electors disgraced themselves, and offered an insult to the electors in all the burghs and counties of Great Britain, to the House of Commons, and even to the other two branches of the legislature, by sending him to be their representative in parliament.

2. By natural expediency, and by custom expressed in a long series of precedents, the House of Commons have collectively an unlimited authority over their own members, in the exercise of which they cannot be controuled, as even for its abuse they cannot be called to account.

3. A man attainted of felony cannot sit in parliament. The House of Commons must have considered the crimes of Wilkes, as little less heinous than felony. They, justly, therefore, assumed the liberty of treating him as a felon.

4. From the time of his expulsion, Wilkes could not be a legal candidate for the representation of any county or burgh. Votes given for one incapable of being legally a candidate, could have no legal effect. Having no legal effect, were they not, of course, null & void.

5. *Selden* has maintained, that the House of Commons have even power to impose perpetual disability upon any one of their members.

6. Only that power which cannot be exercised without the agency of others, terminates to the Commons at the end of a session. But that of which the exercise is in themselves alone, and only while they sit, endures from one general election to another.

7. It appears to have always been the law, that no member of the House of Commons, once expelled, for whatever cause, could again obtain a seat in the same parliament, if there were not some statutory exception in his favour.

8. If a county or burgh were left free to return, by continually repeated election, any obnoxious member, as often as the house should think fit to expel him, the business of parliament might be entirely interrupted by a mischievous concert between that member and his electors; and the whole attention of the Commons might be confined, even at any crisis, however important, to this ridiculous contest. Therefore, to protect the order of its proceedings, the House of Commons *must*, necessarily, possess authority to prevent the re-election of any member whom they have expelled.

9. Were it even true, that the decision in favour of Mr. Luttrell, and in opposition to the claims of Mr. Wilkes and the majority of the Middlesex electors, were unjust and unconstitutional; yet, how happy, in comparison, that nation, which suffers from its government, no wrongs heavier than this?

These are the arguments of Johnson. Let us oppose to them a summary of those of JUNIUS.

1. It was not his immortality that recommended Wilkes to the choice of the electors of Middlesex; but his zeal and firmness in opposing wicked ministers, and irregular acts of power; his sufferings in the cause he had espoused, sufferings by which he was certainly recommended to the esteem and favour of his country; and the consideration that the man, *whoever he might be*, in respect to whom any great principle of the constitution had been violated, ought to be firmly supported by all who thought that constitution worthy of defence, till his wrongs should be redressed, and the laws, in the violation of which he was injured, should be effectually vindicated.

2. Unless there be statute or precedent to the contrary, the House of Commons can possess no other authority, over either their own members or any one else, save what, in addition to the effect of the common and statute law, and to the care of the King to maintain the peace in favour of his Commons, may be necessary to support the freedom and order of their proceedings. Having it so much in their power to discover and promote whatever new laws may be wanted; they can easily procure an act of the legislature, whenever new and more effectual protection to their legislative agency may become necessary. And, it cannot be supposed, that *they* should chuse to retain aught in uncertainty, which they may procure to be decisively settled, if that were requisite, by a law of unquestionable validity,

3. But, the power of excluding an expelled member, is not indispensably necessary to maintain the order and dignity of the proceedings of the House of Commons. Or, if it be necessary, it is at least of such a nature, that it might be defined by law, without inconvenience, either to the public in general, or to the House of Commons. Or, it may be, at least, rendered effectual by the Commons alone, without depriving those electors of the right of voting, who may incline to send back the expelled member into the bosom of the House.

4. The power of excluding an expelled member, *on account simply of his expulsion*, has not been bestowed on the House of Commons by any statute, and does not appear in any precedent, to have been ever exercised by them. Neither do they appear to have ever, on any former occasion, supposed, that they had power to annul the votes which were given in favour of candidates who had been previously disqualified by expulsion from the house.

5. All the precedents which have been quoted in defence of the decision of the house, upon the Middlesex election, have been found to be, in this case, inaccurately applied, and of course to contradict the very position which they have been quoted to maintain.

6. Consequences the most fatal to the British constitution would ensue, if the House of Commons were suffered to annul at pleasure, by their sole authority, the votes of their electors. Every burgh, every county, might be forced to forego its first choice, in order to escape the danger of being deprived of the liberty to make a second.

These are the chief arguments on both sides. It is easy to see, that those of JUNIUS exceedingly preponderate. And happily, at the time when, at the close of the American war, the Whigs of the school of Charles Fox—Charles Fox, the true political representative of Temple and of Chatham—came for a short time into power,—the precedent of the decision in the case of the Middlesex election was erased from the records of the House of Commons.

LETTER XXIII.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

THE family of the Duke of Bedford is one of the most illustrious in the British empire. From the conquest till the reign of Henry the Eighth, the Russels were but an honourable, military family, not yet enriched with extraordinary wealth, nor exalted to the peerage. Sir John Russel, a favourite servant of that monarch, created a great estate, and elevated his family to a more eminent rank. Acquisitions by marriage, still enlarged their fortunes; and, before the great civil war, the Earl of Bedford was already one of the most opulent noblemen in these kingdoms. The marriage of the only daughter and heiress of Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton—the friend of Clarendon, the son of him who was the friend of Essex and the patron of Shakspeare, one of the most faithful adherents to the royal cause during the anarchy and usurpation of the last century—made another prodigious addition to the opulence of the house of Russel. He to whom the heiress of the house of Southampton was married, was the good Lord Russel; who was put to death in the end of the reign of Charles the Second, on account, not so much of that patriotic and scarcely illegal plot in which he was actually concerned, as of a more atrocious one, involving regicide, of which the guilt was unjustly imputed to him. The inheritance of his principles, and a desire to avenge his death, naturally attached the survivors of his family to the cause of the revolution. From that era, throughout the reigns of William and Mary, and of Anne, the head of the house of Russel continued to be numbered among the most zealous and the steadiest of the Whigs. At the accession of the house of Hanover, the Russels were found among its firmest friends; and, as such, were favoured and honoured. The administration of Sir Robert Walpole had the support of the Duke of Bedford. Nor was it till after he had married the sister of Lord Gower, and had begun to be dissatisfied with the feeble administration of the Pelhams, that the Duke, to whom JUNIUS addresses this Letter, began to set himself at the



Duke of Bedford?

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head of a particular party, and to offer occasional opposition to the measures of a government that was founded upon the revolution settlement.

The Gower family had been noted as steady Tories. High expectations had been conceived by that party, of the talents and firm Toryism of the young Lord Gower, to whom the Nonjuror Poet, *Penton*, wrote that beautiful Ode, which is far the best of his works, and indeed one of the finest Odes in the English language. One object of the poet was, to encourage the young peer in a steady adherence to Tory principles. With this view, he, in the concluding stanza, thus addresses him,—

“ Honour’s bright dome, on lasting columns rear’d,
Nor envy rusts, nor rolling years consume :
Loud Pæans echoing round the roof are heard ;
And clouds of incense all the void perfume.
There Phocion, Lælius, Capel, Hyde,
With Falkland seated near his side,
Fix’d by the Muse, the temple grace ;
Prophetic of thy happy fame,
She, to receive thy radiant name,
Selects a whiter space.”

But, the hopes and the prophecy of the Tory poet were miserably frustrated. Lord Gower became, afterwards, one of the most notorious examples of apostasy from the Tory cause, for the sake of winning the favour of a Whig administration. Johnson, among others, was so much enraged at this defection, that he wished to have preserved the name of a Gower, in his Dictionary, as another appellative term for an apostate or betrayer. Yet could not Lord Gower immediately win the favour and entire confidence of the Whigs to whom he had deserted. The alliance between the house of Gower, and that of Bedford, was looked upon as a very inauspicious conjunction in politics, forming a new party that was neither Whig nor Tory. The pure Whiggish blood of the Russels might seem to be contaminated by the consanguinity of the Tory Gowers ; and the Gowers, on the other hand, might seem to be irrevocably detached from their ancient party, by the affinity of the house of Bedford.

Such were the circumstances, and such the estimation of the public, in which the Duke of Bedford, with the Earls of Gower, Sandwich, and Halifax, their friends and parliamentary dependents, began to act, in strict concert, in order to make their terms with government, and to exercise a restraining influence over the Pelham administration. At that time, the parties in parliament were not fewer than five: the Pitt and Grenville party; the Bedford party; the predominant party of the Pelhams; the Tories, with the rest who paid their court to the Prince of Wales; and the friends of the Duke of Cumberland, who were headed by Henry, the father of Charles Fox. The Bedford party, could not of themselves form an efficient administration, and engross the power of the government. But, they were sufficiently formidable to be devoutly courted by all the rest. The Pelhams received them into a share of their power. But, though not deficient in talents, they wanted character and popularity: and it became unavoidably necessary to employ Pitt and the Grenvilles. While Pitt dictated the measures of administration in the end of the reign of George the Second, the Duke of Bedford and his friends, like the other parties, gave him their parliamentary support. The Lieutenancy of Ireland was an honour worthy of the Duke's rank and ambition; and its patronage enabled him to provide amply for his creature Rigby, as well as to perform some acts of magnificent beneficence, in which ostentation had no share. He, next, condescended to become the political ally of Bute; went ambassador to Paris; and had the honour or the infamy, of being the ostensible negotiator of the peace of 1763. His friend, Lord Halifax, was at the same time Secretary of State; and his party gave their vigorous support to the administration of Bute.

After his return from France, the Duke was, for some short time, discontented with Lord Bute and the court. But, ere he could rush into opposition, the death of Lord Egremont left a vacancy in the ministry, which the Duke of Bedford with his friends were called to fill. Lord Bute, and this new administration, were soon mutually dissatisfied with each other. The opposition between the court and the ministry, became publicly known; and an attempt was made to substitute Pitt, Lyttleton, and Temple, instead of Halifax, Bedford, and Grenville, in the chief offices of the ministry. It failed of success. The Duke of Bedford saw Lord Bute,

and even the King himself at his mercy. He used his advantage cruelly ; obliging the King to expel from official employment, all such of his servants as were supposed to have been appointed at the recommendation of the Earl of Bute ; and, in particular, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, that nobleman's brother, whom the King had, before, voluntarily promised, never to dismiss from his office. Such an insolent triumph of his ministers, was not to be endured by the Sovereign. The Newcastle and Rockingham Whigs were invited to come into office, almost upon their own terms ; and the Duke of Bedford, and his associates, were with great indignation dismissed. He had not the favour of the people to support him in his disgrace. Popularity he had never courted : and in cases of electioneering, in his government of Ireland, and on account of the share he had taken in negotiating the late peace, the popular odium had been often strongly directed against him. Amid the distresses and riots of the weavers of Spitalfields, he was now again threatened by a mob of those men, in his house in Bloomsbury. They thought their distresses to be owing to the importation of French stuffs, and the prevalence of French fashions ; and for all this, what could they blame so much, as the Duke of Bedford, and his peace ?—He was not unwilling to seize the first occasion for returning into favour at court. When the King and his secret advisers became weary of the measures of the Rockingham administration, and again courted the Grenvilles ; the Duke of Bedford, the friend of George Grenville, eagerly threw himself into the negotiation ; but was scornfully slighted by Lord Bute, by whom the insolent dismissal of his brother had not yet been forgotten. Lord Chatham then formed a new administration, in obedience to the particular commands of his Sovereign ; and, for a time, strove to exclude from power all but the King's friends and those whom he thought his own. He soon found himself unable, without other aid, to withstand the opposition which the Rockingham Whigs, the Bedford party, and the friends of George Grenville and Lord Temple, were exciting against him. He sought the friendship of the Duke of Bedford ; and the Duke, with his friends, were not unwilling to serve under Lord Chatham. But, the King had not yet pardoned the Duke's former insolence ; and Lord Chatham was thus hindered from fulfilling the engagements he had privately

made with the Duke. Lord Chatham proved unable to superintend and preserve the fabric which he had reared. Mr. Townshend died; Mr. Conway resigned; the Duke of Grafton deserted Lord Chatham, for the friendships which were to be found at court; Lord Chatham, himself, at last abandoning the ministry which he had formed, was reconciled to his brothers, and to the Rockingham Whigs. It was then that, more than on any former occasion, the Whigs believed themselves to be on the point of becoming sole masters of the powers of government. At that crisis, the Duke of Bedford accepted the offers of the court, joined the Duke of Grafton, and drew upon himself the fiercest rage of all the Whigs, by making himself, as they conceived, the saviour of Lord Bute, of the Tories, and of the system of secret influence in the closet. Considerably more than a year had now passed since that coalition took place; and, though amidst very trying difficulties, the administration formed by it still stood unshaken. Hence that indignation of all the Whigs against the Duke of Bedford, which is in the following Letter of JUNIUS so vehemently expressed.

In this Letter, JUNIUS labours to represent whatever appeared to have been mean or unpopular in the Duke of Bedford's private conduct, in a light in which it shall become still more odious in the eyes of the public. He strives to overwhelm the feelings of the Duke himself, with a sense of baseness, folly, and dishonour, that shall make him shrink from the public eye. And he endeavours even to set this nobleman's character forth in colours which, if not horrible enough to drive his ancient dependents and adherents from around him, might at least frighten away his new associates, to whom his real disposition and qualities were less intimately known. The whole public and private conduct of the Duke are, in this Letter, reviewed. His vices and errors are represented in comparison with the advantages and duties of his rank and condition. Enough is here done, not indeed to make us believe with JUNIUS, that the Duke of Bedford was one of the basest and most vicious of mankind, yet certainly to convince us that, though not destitute of talents, he wanted that enlarged comprehension in his views of public and private good, that firmness founded upon conscious wisdom and beneficence, as well

as that generous magnanimity, which can alone make a Duke of Bedford truly equal to all that the English nation are willing to hope from the representative of the good Lord Southampton, and of Lord Russel.

This Letter is, certainly, one of the ablest specimens of the eloquence of JUNIUS. The contrast of a fancied good character, with the actual bad one of the Duke of Bedford; the artful imputation of treachery won by bribes, in the negotiating of the peace; the hinted coarseness and vulgarity of the object of his satire, in his private pleasures; the recalling that outrage to recollection, with which the Duke had, on a former occasion, treated his Sovereign; the suggestion, that the Duke might now fancy all his plans of ambition consummated, and himself indisputable master of the voices of the cabinet council; above all, the alarming earnestness with which, in the concluding paragraphs the Duke is taught to believe the whole empire to be, as it were in arms against him; compose, together, an assemblage of splendid parts, forming certainly one of the most powerfully and elaborately eloquent of all this collection of Letters. There is, however, in some parts of it, a quaintness, inconsistent with that chaste delicacy of writing which can alone deserve the approbation of true taste.

By QUAINTESS, I mean, the use of that cast of thought, and that mould of style, which in propriety belong only to true wit, upon occasions when there is no genuine wit produced, and when indeed the use even of such wit would be unseasonable.

MY LORD,

19. September, 1769.

YOU are so little accustomed to receive any marks of respect or esteem from the public, that if, ~~(in the following lines)~~ a compliment or expression of applause should escape me, I fear you would consider it as a mockery of your established character, and perhaps an insult to your understanding. You

have nice feelings, my Lord, if we may judge from your resentments. Cautious therefore of giving offence, where you have so little deserved it, I shall leave the illustration of your virtues to other hands. Your friends have a privilege to play upon the easiness of your temper, or possibly they are better acquainted with your good qualities than I am. You have done good by stealth. The rest is upon record. You have still left ample room for speculation, when panegyric is exhausted.

You are indeed a very considerable man. The highest rank;—a splendid fortune;—and a name glorious till it was yours,—were sufficient to have supported you, with meaner abilities than I think you possess. From the first, you derive a constitu-

Cautious therefore of giving offence, where you have so little deserved it, &c.] Here is an instance of the unseasonable affectation of refinement of thought, and of a turn of style fitted to excite surprise. Even by JUNIUS's own meaning, the Duke of Bedford, the less he deserved real praise, deserved just so much the more to be harassed with the offence of that which was ironical. It was only, as believing that all praise offered to him, must be insincere and ironical, that the Duke is pretended to be incapable of hearing praise otherwise than with resentment, or with an excusing forgiveness which would operate in favour of none but his personal friends. *Sincere* praise would not have given offence; but had *not* been deserved. *Ironical* praise would give offence; but, then, it *had* been deserved. In the beginning of the words quoted, JUNIUS means *ironical* praise: in the last phrase, it is *sincere* praise to which he alludes. What a confusion of thoughts and of language! But the same *quaintness* pervades the whole paragraph. I am anxious to point it distinctly out; for it is what the inexperienced are the readiest to admire and to imitate as a beauty.

tional claim to respect; from the second, a natural extensive authority;—the last created a partial expectation of hereditary virtues. The use you have made of these uncommon advantages might have been more honourable to yourself, but could not be more instructive to mankind. We may trace it in the veneration of your country, the choice of your friends, and in the accomplishment of every sanguine hope which the public might have conceived from the illustrious name of Russel.

The eminence of your station gave you a commanding prospect of your duty. The road, which led to honour, was open to your view. You could not lose it by mistake, and you had no temptation to depart from it by design. Compare the natural dignity and importance of the highest peer of England;—the noble independence which he might have maintained in parliament, and the real interest and respect which he might have acquired, not only in parliament but through the whole kingdom:—compare these glorious distinctions with the ambition of holding a share in government, the emoluments of a place, the sale of a borough, or the purchase of a corporation; and, though you may

We may trace it, &c.] JUNIUS, in this period, returns unseasonably to the use of irony. He proposed, in the first paragraph, to enter, directly, upon serious censure. He has entered upon it. Irony thus transiently introduced amid the serious tenor of the periods going immediately before, and immediately following, is in its effect incongruous, and inconsistent with the propriety of composition.

not regret the virtues which create respect, you may see with anguish how much real importance and authority you have lost. Consider the character of an independent, virtuous Duke of Bedford; imagine what he might be in this country, then reflect one moment upon what you are. If it be possible for me to withdraw my attention from the fact, I will tell you in theory what such a man might be.

Conscious of his own weight and importance, his conduct in parliament would be directed by nothing but the constitutional duty of a peer. He would consider himself as a guardian of the laws. Willing to support the just measures of government, but determined to observe the conduct of the minister with suspicion, he would oppose the violence of faction with as much firmness, as the encroachments of prerogative. He would be as little capable of bargaining with the minister for places for himself, or his dependents, as of descending to mix himself in the intrigues of opposition. Whenever an important question called for his opinion in parliament, he would be heard, by the most profligate minister, with deference and respect. His authority would either sanctify or disgrace the measures of government.—The people would look up to him as their

The people would look up to him, &c.] It is impossible to deny that, in this and the foregoing paragraph, JUNIUS has, with very skilful discrimination, explained the true public duties of a British nobleman of the highest rank and fortune. Much observation of both public and private life, much knowledge of the rules of moral

protector; and a virtuous prince would have one honest man in his dominions, in whose integrity and judgment he might safely confide. If* it should be the will of Providence to afflict him with a domestic misfortune, he would submit to the stroke, with feeling, but not without dignity. He would consider the people as his children, and receive a generous, heart-felt consolation, in the sympathising tears and blessings of his country.

Your Grace may probably discover something more intelligible in the negative part of this illustrious character. The man I have described would never prostitute his dignity in parliament by an indecent violence, either in opposing or defending a minister. He would not, at one moment, rancorously persecute, at another basely cringe to, the favourite of his Sovereign. After outraging the royal dignity with peremptory conditions, little short of menace and hostility, he would never descend to the humility of soliciting an interview† with the favourite, and of

duty, and of general policy, with great native penetration, were necessary to enable the author to produce this admirable passage. Neither a raw young man, nor any mere book-worm, could have written it. It cannot be too much studied by men of rank.

* The Duke lately lost his only son, by a fall from his horse.

He would consider the people, &c.] The beauty of this sentiment almost atones for the indecency of the allusion to the domestic misfortune which the Duke had recently suffered.

The Marquis of Tavistock, son to the Duke of Bedford here addressed, was the father of the present Duke. His mother was the sister of the late Earl of Albemarle.

† At this interview, which passed at the house of the late Lord Eglington, Lord Bute told the Duke, that he was determined

offering to recover, at any price, the honour of his friendship. Though deceived perhaps in his youth, he would not, through the course of a long life, have invariably chosen his friends from among the most profligate of mankind. His own honour would have forbidden him from mixing his private pleasures or conversation with jockeys, gamesters, blasphemers, gladiators, or buffoons. He would then have never felt, much less would he have submitted to, the dishonest necessity or engaging in the interest and intrigues of his dependents; of supplying their vices, or relieving their beggary, at the expense of his country. He would not have betrayed such ignorance, or such contempt of the constitution, as openly to avow, in a court of justice, the* purchase and sale of a borough. He would not have thought it consistent with his rank in the state, or even with his personal importance, to be the little tyrant of a little corporation†. He would never have been insulted with virtues, which he had laboured to extinguish; nor suffered the disgrace of a mortifying defeat, which has made him ridiculous and contemptible, even to

never to have any connexion with a man who had so basely betrayed him.

* In an answer in Chancery, in a suit against him to recover a large sum paid him by a person whom he had undertaken to return to parliament, for one of his Grace's boroughs, he was compelled to repay the money.

† Of Bedford, where the tyrant was held in such contempt and detestation, that, in order to deliver themselves from him, they admitted a great number of strangers to the freedom. To make his defeat truly ridiculous, he tried his whole strength against Mr. *Horne*, and was beaten upon his own ground.

the few by whom he was not detested.—I reverence the afflictions of a good man,—his sorrows are sacred. But how can we take part in the distresses of a man, whom we can neither love nor esteem; or feel for a calamity, of which he himself is insensible? Where was the father's heart, when he could look for, or find, an immediate consolation for the loss of an only son, in consultations and bargains for a place at court, and even in the misery of balloting at the India House?

Admitting, then, that you have mistaken or deserted those honourable principles, which ought to have directed your conduct; admitting that you have as little claim to private affection as to public esteem; let us see with what abilities, with what degree of judgment you have carried your own system into execution. A great man, in the success, and even in the magnitude of his crimes, finds a rescue from contempt. Your Grace is every way unfortunate. Yet I will not look back to those ridiculous scenes, by which, in your earlier days, you thought it an honour to be distinguished*; the recorded stripes, the

Your Grace is every way unfortunate, &c.] JUNIUS is never content to make the objects of his satire odious, unless he can render them, at the same time, contemptible.

* Mr. Heston Humphrey, a country attorney, horsewhipped the Duke, with equal justice, severity, and perseverance, on the course at Litchfield; *Rigby* and *Lord Trentham* were also cudgelled in a most exemplary manner. This gave rise to the following story: "When the late King heard that Sir Edward Hawke had given the French a *drubbing*, his Majesty, who had never received that kind

public infamy, your own suffering; or Mr. Rigby's fortitude. These events undoubtedly left an impression, though not upon your mind. To such a mind, it may perhaps be a pleasure to reflect, that there is hardly a corner of any of his Majesty's kingdoms, except France, in which, at one time or another, your valuable life has not been in danger. Amiable man! we see and acknowledge the protection of Providence, by which you have so often escaped the personal detestation of your fellow-subjects, and are still reserved for the public justice of your country.

Your history begins to be important at that auspicious period, at which you were deputed to represent the Earl of Bute at the court of Versailles. It was an honourable office, and executed with the same spirit with which it was accepted. Your patrons wanted an ambassador, who would submit to make concessions, without daring to insist upon any honourable condition for his Sovereign. Their business required a man who had as little feeling for his own dignity as for the welfare of his country; and they found him in the first rank of the nobility.

of chastisement, was pleased to ask Lord Chesterfield the meaning of the word.—Sir, says Lord Chesterfield, the meaning of the word—but here comes the Duke of Bedford, who is better able to explain it to your Majesty than I am.”

Amiable man!] Using these words, JUNIUS means to insinuate, by their connexion with what goes before, and with what follows, that the people rejoiced in the Duke's having survived, that he might meet one punishment; just as, with respect to a good man,

Belleisle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery, and the Havanna, are glorious monuments of your Grace's talents for negotiation. My Lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made, without some private compensations. Your conduct carries with it an internal evidence, beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice. Even the callous pride of Lord Egremont, was alarmed*. He saw and felt his own dishonour in corresponding with you; and there

they would be glad of his escape from danger, as thinking him providentially reserved for greater usefulness and happiness.

Belleisle, Goree, &c.] The peace of 1763, was, no doubt, inconsiderately made, and can never be successfully defended. The French ought not to have been left so powerful, in the West Indies as by it they were. The Duke of Bedford, though not peculiarly blameable, well deserved the satire of JUNIUS, on account of the part he acted in negotiating that treaty.

Without some private compensations.] Suspicions of bribery were boldly thrown out against the authors of the peace. It was said to have been bought by the French, from the Princess Dowager of Wales, Lord Bute, the Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Henry Fox. A foolish report, brought by a Dr. Musgrave from Paris, gave occasion to an inquiry by a committee of the House of Commons. The examination of Musgrave proved, that he had no credible authority for the imputations of treachery and corruption which he was willing to propagate. Yet, I should rather choose to adopt no certain, decisive belief, on this subject, than to maintain, that the English ministers received, from the French Court, no secret presents on account of it.

* This man, notwithstanding his pride and Tory principles, had some English stuff in him. Upon an official letter he wrote to the Duke of Bedford, the Duke desired to be recalled, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Lord Bute could appease him.

certainly was a moment, at which he meant to have resisted, had not a fatal lethargy prevailed over his faculties, and carried all sense and memory away with it.

I will not pretend to specify the secret terms on which you are invited to support* an administration which Lord Bute pretended to leave in full possession of their ministerial authority, and perfectly masters of themselves. He was not a temper to relinquish power, though he retired from employment. Stipulations were certainly made between your Grace and him, and certainly violated. After two years submission, you thought you had collected a strength sufficient to controul his influence, and that it was your turn to be a tyrant, because you had been a slave. When you found yourself mistaken in your

Invited to support an administration, &c.] For some short time after the return of the Duke of Bedford from Paris, there existed a misunderstanding and a coolness between him and Lord Bute. But, Bute thought it then necessary to court the favour of the Duke. Lord Egremont, the son of that great leader of the Tories, Sir William Wyndham, seasonably died; and the Duke of Bedford and his friends were called into office, under Mr. George Grenville.

* Mr. Grenville, Lord Halifax, and Lord Egremont.

Certainly violated.] The stipulations were violated by Lord Bute.

When you found yourself mistaken, &c.] The King had been ill. Upon his recovery, he thought it necessary to have a REGENCY nominated, by an act of the legislature; who, in the event of his premature death, should govern the kingdom till his successor might attain the eighteenth year of his age. That measure was settled before the ministers were consulted and commanded to carry it, through the necessary course, into a law. In proposing it to parliament, they contrived to exclude from the regency, the name of

opinion of your gracious Master's firmness, disappointment got the better of all your humble discretion, and carried you to an excess of outrage to his person, as distant from true spirit, as from all decency and respect*. After robbing him of the rights of a King, you would not permit him to preserve the honour of a gentleman. It was then that Lord Weymouth was nominated to Ireland, and dispatched (we well remember with what indecent hurry) to plunder the Treasury of the first fruits of an employment which you well knew he was never to execute†.

the Princess Dowager of Wales, whose secret influence they hated. The addition of her name was proposed in parliament by others; and the ministers endured the public disgrace of appearing not to have, even in such an affair, the confidence of their royal master. The Duke of Bedford was enraged to fury. Bute resolved to dismiss the ministers. He was for a while disappointed in his attempts to form a new administration. In the meantime, the Duke and his friends, aware of Bute's hatred and difficulties, insulted the Sovereign himself, and drove Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, the Duke of Northumberland, and Henry Fox Lord Holland, the brother and the confidential friends of Bute, out of office. While they knew that they were themselves about to be dismissed, they appointed Lord Weymouth, now Marquis of Bath, to the Lieutenancy of Ireland. They were succeeded by the Rockingham administration. And, from this time, there was, for some years, open war between the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Bute.

* The ministry having endeavoured to exclude the Dowager out of the Regency Bill, the Earl of Bute determined to dismiss them. Upon this the Duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the —; reproached him in plain terms, with his duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy,—repeatedly gave him the lie, and left him in convulsions.

† He received three thousand pounds for plate and equipage money.

This sudden declaration of war against the favourite, might have given you a momentary merit with the public, if it had either been adopted upon principle, or maintained with resolution. Without looking back to all your former servility, we need only observe your subsequent conduct, to see upon what motives you acted. Apparently united with Mr. Grenville, you waited until Lord Rockingham's feeble administration should dissolve in its own weakness.—The moment their dismissal was suspected, the moment you perceived that another system was adopted, in the closet, you thought it no disgrace to return to your former dependence, and solicit once more the friendship of Lord Bute. You begged an interview, at which he had spirit enough to treat you with contempt.

It would be now of little use to point out, by what a train of weak, injudicious measures, it became

Apparently united with Mr. Grenville, &c.] This accusation is unjust. The Duke of Bedford was sincere in his adherence to Mr. Grenville; at least, till he came again into administration with the Duke of Grafton.

You begged an interview, &c.] Lord Temple and George Grenville were solicited by Lord Bute. George Grenville did not choose to negotiate without the Duke of Bedford. Bute declined negotiation with Bedford, unless Lord Temple should enter, at the same time, into the treaty. Lord Temple slighted the advances of Bute: and the scheme was thus interrupted.

It would be now of little use, &c.] JUNIUS here overlooks a part of the Duke's political life, that was not dishonourable. He continued firm in his attachment to the Grenvilles, till offers were first made to him, and then abruptly withdrawn, by Lord Chatham. He

necessary, or was thought so, to call you back to a share in the administration*. The friends whom you did not, in the last instance, desert, were not of a character to add strength or credit to government; and, at that time, your alliance with the Duke of Grafton, was, I presume, hardly foreseen. We must look for other stipulations, to account for that sudden resolution of the closet, by which three of your dependents † (whose characters, I think, cannot be less respected than they are) were advanced to offices, through which you might again controul the minister, and probably engross the whole direction of affairs.

The possession of absolute power is now once more within your reach. The measures you have taken to obtain and confirm it, are too gross to escape the eyes of a discerning, judicious prince. His palace is besieged; the lines of circumvallation are drawing round him; and, unless he finds a resource in his own activity, or in the attachment of the real

shewed a willingness to co-operate, either in opposition or in administration, with the united parties of the Grenvilles and the Marquis of Rockingham. At the invitation of his Sovereign, he at last joined the Duke of Grafton.

* When Earl Gower was appointed President of the Council, the King, with his usual sincerity, assured him, that he had not had one happy moment since the Duke of Bedford left him.

We must look for other stipulations, &c.] The Duke of Bedford was suspected of being now united in full confidence with Lord Bute.

† Lords Gower, Weymouth, and Sandwich.

The possession of absolute power, &c.] This whole paragraph was intended to alarm those who were called the King's friends, against the power of the Duke.

friends of his family, the best of princes must submit to the confinement of a state prisoner, until your Grace's death, or some less fortunate event, shall raise the siege. For the present, you may safely resume that style of insult and menace, which even a private gentleman cannot submit to hear, without being contemptible. Mr. Mackenzie's history is not yet forgotten; and you may find precedents enough of the mode, in which an imperious subject may signify his pleasure to his Sovereign. Where will this gracious monarch look for assistance, when the wretched Grafton could forget his obligations to his master, and desert him for a hollow alliance with *such* a man as the Duke of Bedford!

Let us consider, you, then, as arrived at the summit of worldly greatness: let us suppose, that all your plans of avarice and ambition, are accomplished, and your most sanguine wishes gratified, in the fear, as well as the hatred of the people. Can age itself forget that you are now in the last act of life? Can grey hairs make folly venerable? and is there no period to be reserved for meditation and retirement? For shame! my Lord: let it not be recorded of you,

Let us consider you, &c.] This, and the three following paragraphs, constitute the most eloquent and impressive parts of the Letter. There is in them much of art; much of passion; much, in truth, of deep discernment into human character, and of sound moral wisdom. All those scenes are enumerated, at which the Duke had met with any popular disgrace. Of such a spirit, as one should think, must have been the verses by which Archilochus made Lycambes hang himself.

that the latest moments of your life were dedicated to the same unworthy pursuits, the same busy agitations, in which your youth and manhood were exhausted. Consider, that although you cannot disgrace your former life, you are violating the character of age, and exposing the impotent imbecility, after you have lost the vigour, of the passions.

Your friends will ask, perhaps, Whither shall this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where his life has been so often threatened, and his palace so often attacked? If he returns to Wooburn, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth, his destruction would be more than probable; at Exeter, inevitable. No honest Englishman will ever forget his attachment, nor any honest Scotchman forgive his treachery, to Lord Bute. At every town he enters, he must change his liveries and name. Which ever ways he flies, the *Hue and Cry* of the country pursues him.

In another kingdom, indeed, the blessings of his administration have been more sensibly felt; his virtues better understood; or, at worst they will not, for him alone, forget their hospitality.—As well might VERRES have returned to Sicily. You have twice

You have twice escaped, &c.] The Duke of Bedford had been in Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant. He revisited it, not without much popularity; and was appointed to the principal honorary office in the university of Dublin.

escaped, my Lord; beware of a third experiment. The indignation of a whole people, plundered, insulted, and oppressed as they have been, will not always be disappointed.

It is in vain therefore to shift the scene. You can no more fly from your enemies than from yourself. Persecuted abroad, you look into your own heart for consolation, and find nothing but reproaches and despair. But, my Lord, you may quit the field of business, though not the field of danger; and, though you cannot be safe, you may cease to be ridiculous. I fear you have listened too long to the advice of those pernicious friends, with whose interests you have sordidly united your own, and for whom you have sacrificed every thing that ought to be dear to a man of honour. They are still base enough to encourage the follies of your age, as they once did the vices of your youth. As little acquainted with the rules of decorum, as with the laws of morality, they will not suffer you to profit by experience, nor even to consult the propriety of a bad character. Even now they tell you, that life is no more than a dramatic scene, in which the hero should preserve his consistency to the last; and that, as you lived without virtue, you should die without repentance.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXIV....TO JUNIUS.

SIR William Drafter had endeavoured to forget the ignominy of his unsuccessful epistolary rencounter with JUNIUS; and perhaps hoped that, as it had been made public only in the fugitive pages of a newspaper, it would soon be forgotten by the world. But the Letters of JUNIUS, among the common materials of newspapers, were as beings of immortal youth among the insects that perish just as they rise into existence. The Letters which had passed between JUNIUS and Sir William Drafter, were soon reprinted, without malignity to the latter, or without kindness to the former, but because it was known that they would find sale. When Sir William saw these Letters in a separate publication; he suddenly became aware of all the magnitude of his misfortune; and believed, that his infamy must be perpetuated. To a man whose soul was keenly alive to the sense of reprobation, and who had discernment and taste to know the power of eloquence like that of JUNIUS, the thought of his name being thus damned to immortality, was enough to drive the mind to madness. Under the influence of the rage to which the sight of the republished Letters prompted him, Sir William, perhaps reckless of the consequences, again braved his adversary's terrible invective in the following epistle.—It may be, too, that hearing a general outcry against the atrocious malignity of JUNIUS, on account of his merciless severity against the Duke of Bedford, Sir William Drafter might, for this reason, think it the occasion favourable for him to remind the public how very cruelly he had been treated by the wanton satire of the same pen.—Besides, as JUNIUS had foiled many other opponents, since the time of his correspondence with Sir William Drafter; and as not one of those persons had come off from the combat with so little of disgrace as Sir William; it was natural enough, that the Knight of the Bath, fond as he was of writing, should think himself not so much dishonoured by defeat, as distinguished by being inferior only to JUNIUS; and should, therefore, resume the pen, with less of fear than of literary vanity.

This Letter complains of the cruelty of the assertion, that Sir William Draper had, for promotion to himself, sold the companions of his victory at Manilla; offers proofs to shew, that he had not; breaks out into some angry, but feeble abuse of JUNIUS; summons him to declare his name; and menaces, against him a soldier's vengeance, if he should ever become personally known to Sir William. It is written, not inelegantly, but without much art; without strength of reasoning, or force of invective.

SIR,

14. September, 1769.

HAVING accidentally seen a *republication* of your Letters, wherein you have been pleased to assert, that I had *sold* the companions of my success; I am again obliged to declare the said assertion to be a most *infamous* and *malicious falsehood*; and I again call upon you to stand forth, avow yourself, and *prove* the charge. If you can make it out to the satisfaction of any one man in the kingdom, I will be content to be thought the worst man in it; if you do not, what must the nation think of you? *Party* has nothing to do in this affair: you have made a personal attack upon my honour, defamed me by a most vile calumny, which might possibly have sunk into oblivion, had not such uncommon pains been taken to renew and perpetuate this scandal, chiefly because it has been told in good language, for I give you full credit for your elegant diction, well-turned periods, and Attic wit; but wit is oftentimes false, though

Attic wit.] This is an egregious *misnomer*. No two things of the same species, can be more remarkably unlike to each other, than the

it may appear brilliant; which is exactly the case of your *whole performance*. But, Sir, I am obliged in the most *serious* manner to accuse you of being guilty of *falsities*. You have said the thing that is *not*. To support your story, you have recourse to the following *irresistible* argument: "You *sold* the companions of your victory, because when the 16th regiment was given to *you*, you was *silent*. The conclusion is inevitable." I believe, that such *deep* and *acute reasoning* could only come from such an extraordinary writer as JUNIUS. But, unfortunately for you, the *premises*, as well as the *conclusion*, are absolutely *false*. Many applications have been made to the ministry

wit of JUNIUS, and that which both the ancients and well-informed moderns have distinguished by the appellation of *Attic wit*. If I mistake not, we possess the most genuine examples of the true Attic wit in the conversations of Socrates, related by Xenophon, and in the imitations of the Comedies of Menander by Terence. A delicate propriety, that commits no rudeness, pollutes itself with no grossness, hazards none of those experiments in which the distinction between *true* and *false* wit seem to become uncertain; a coldness and ease that seem to aim at nothing striking; a simplicity that wears the air of expressing the first thoughts that can arise to an inartificial mind, in the most natural, unstudied language; an archness that, under all this disguise, misses no occasion of presenting the happiest combinations of ideas, which, though never before associated, yet refuse not to meet together; faultless purity of phrase, propriety in the use of words, correctness of syntax; and an absence of every thing, whether in style or in thought, that might strike the ear as affected or unfamiliar; are the characteristic qualities of Attic wit. Very different are the qualities of the wit of JUNIUS. Addison, Cumberland, La Fontaine—were it not for his occasional grossness—the playful Gresset, and sometimes the elder George Coleman, have succeeded better in that which is called Attic wit, than almost any others of the moderns.

on the subject of the Manilla Ransom, *since* the time of my being Colonel of that regiment. As I have for some years quitted London, I was obliged to have recourse to the Honourable Colonel Monson and Sir Samuel Cornish to *negotiate* for me; in the last autumn, I personally delivered a memorial to the Earl of Shelburne, at his seat in Wiltshire. As you have told us of your importance, that you are a person of *rank* and *fortune*, and above a *common* bribe, you may in all probability be not *unknown* to his lordship, who can satisfy you of the truth of what I say. But I shall now take the liberty, Sir, to seize your battery, and turn it against yourself. If your puerile and tinsel logic could carry the least weight or conviction with it, how must you stand affected by the *inevitable conclusion*, as you are pleased to term it? According to JUNIUS, *silence is guilt*. In many of the public papers, you have been called, in the most direct and offensive terms, a *liar* and a *coward*. When did you reply to these foul accusations? You have been quite *silent*, quite chop-fallen: therefore, *because* you was *silent*, the nation has a right to pronounce you to be both a liar and a coward, from your own argument. But, Sir, I will give you fair-play; will afford you an opportunity to wipe off the first appellation, by desiring the proofs of your charge against me. Produce them! To wipe off the last,

[Colonel Monson and Sir Samuel Cornish, &c.] These were the other officers who had commanded, together with Sir William Draper, in the expedition against Manilla.

produce yourself. People cannot bear any longer your *Lion's skin*, and the despicable *imposture* of the *old Roman name* which you have affected. For the future, assume the name of some *modern** bravo and dark assassin: let your appellation have some affinity to your practice. But if I must *perish*, JUNIUS, let me *perish* in the face of day; be for *once* a generous and open enemy. I allow, that Gothic *appeals* to cold iron, are no better proofs of a man's honesty and veracity, than hot iron and burning ploughshares are of *female chastity*: but a soldier's honour is as delicate as a woman's; it must not be suspected; you have dared to throw more than a suspicion upon

People cannot bear any longer your Lion's skin, &c.] This is exceedingly like to the eloquence of a school-boy.

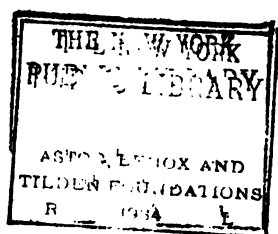
For the future, assume the name, &c.] Sir William Draper is unfortunate in throwing out a contemptuous phrase of censure against the character of BRUTUS. He confounds the idea of JUNIUS BRUTUS, the author only of the *expulsion* of the Tarquins, with that of MARCUS BRUTUS, one of the conspirators against *Julius Cæsar*. For such a blunder, a pretender to classical learning is not to be easily pardoned. Besides, according to the principles of public morality and expediency, which then generally prevailed, the assassination of Cæsar was, at least to Brutus, a virtue, not a crime. Yet, on the other hand, by those principles of rectitude and political expediency, which have been since clearly established by all the force of moral demonstration, it is a crime, and one of the most heinous too, that can be committed against society, to *stab even a tyrant to the heart*. It bespeaks error or wickedness in JUNIUS, even to put the question, as he here does in a note.

* Was *Brutus* an *ancient* bravo and dark assassin? or, does Sir W. D. think it criminal to stab a tyrant to the heart?

I allow, that Gothic appeals, &c.] The trifling of the collegian, forgetting nature and vigorous reason, but hunting solicitously after figurative ornaments.

mine : you cannot but know the consequences, which even the meekness of Christianity would pardon me for, after the injury you have done me.

WILLIAM DRAPER.





Sir William Draper.

LETTER XXV.

Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.

TO SIR WILLIAM DRAPER, KNIGHT OF THE BATH.

JUNIUS, in this Letter, answers Sir William Draper, in a tone of comparative mildness, which seems to indicate that, except so far as he was obliged to maintain the superiority which he had gained, it was not his wish to give new pain to that gentleman's mind. Yet he suffers candour to betray him into no concession, he presses upon his adversary at every vulnerable point, and from even the strongest facts which Sir William had produced for his own exculpation, he draws with irresistible strength of reasoning, new proofs of his guilt. This Letter is, however, written with greater ease of composition than almost any one in the preceding part of this series. It is written, also, with great loftiness, as if the author looked down, carelessly, and not unkindly, from an infinite height, upon the poor creature to whom it was addressed.

SIR,

25. September 1769.

AFTER so long an interval, I did not expect to see the debate revived between us. My answer to your last Letter shall be short; for I write to you with reluctance, and I hope we shall now conclude our correspondence forever.

After so long an interval, &c.] An interval of between five and six months.

Had you been originally and without provocation, attacked by an anonymous writer, you would have some right to demand his name. But in this cause you are a volunteer. You engaged in it with the unpremeditated gallantry of a soldier. You were content to set your name in opposition to a man, who would probably continue in concealment. You understood the terms upon which we were to correspond, and gave at least a tacit assent to them. After voluntarily attacking me under the character of JUNIUS, what possible right have you to know me under any other? Will you forgive me, if I insinuate to you, that you foresaw some honour in the apparent spirit of coming forward in person, and that you were not quite indifferent to the display of your literary qualifications?

You cannot but know, that the republication of my Letters was no more than a catch-penny contrivance of a printer, in which it was impossible I should be concerned, and for which I am no way answerable. At the same time, I wish you to understand that, if I do not take the trouble of reprinting these papers, it is not from any fear of giving offence to Sir William Draper.

Had you been originally, &c.] The reasoning in this paragraph is undeniably fair. Sir William Draper could have no right to call on that adversary to declare his name, whom, when anonymous, he had voluntarily attacked.

Catch-penny contrivance, &c.] JUNIUS, though he might not command this republication, had certainly seen it not without pleasure.

Your remarks upon a signature, adopted merely for distinction, are unworthy of notice: but when you tell me I have submitted to be called a liar and a coward, I must ask you, in my turn, whether you seriously think it any way incumbent on me to take notice of the silly invectives of every simpleton who writes in a newspaper; and what opinion you would have conceived of my discretion, if I had suffered myself to be the dupe of so shallow an artifice?

Your appeal to the sword, though consistent enough with your late profession, will neither prove your innocence, nor clear you from suspicion. Your complaints with regard to the Manilla ransom, were for a considerable time a distress to government. You were appointed (greatly out of your turn) to the command of a regiment; and, *during that administration*, we heard no more of Sir William Draper. The facts of which I speak, may indeed be variously accounted for, but they are too notorious to be denied; and I think you might have learned at the university, that a false conclusion is an error in argument, not a breach of veracity. Your solicitations, I doubt not, were renewed under *another* administration.

Your remarks upon a signature, &c.] It is remarkable that JUNIUS does not here detect Sir William's error in regard to the two Bruti. His reasoning in regard to the propriety of his concealing his name, in spite of provocation, is however sufficiently conclusive.

You were appointed, &c.] It is this paragraph which contains the most damning reasoning against Sir William. Its force is irresistible. And there was, no doubt, much truth in what JUNIUS alleged.

Admitting the fact, I fear an indifferent person would only infer from it, that experience had made you acquainted with the benefits of complaining. Remember, Sir, that you have yourself confessed, that, *considering the critical situation of this country, the ministry are in the right to temporise with Spain.* This confession reduces you to an unfortunate dilemma. By renewing your solicitations, you must either mean to force you country into a war, at a most unseasonable juncture; or, having no view or expectation of that kind, that you look for nothing but a private compensation to yourself.

As to me, it is by no means necessary that I should be exposed to the resentment of the worst and the most powerful men in this country, though I may be indifferent about yours. Though *you* would fight, there are others who would assassinate.

But, after all, Sir, where is the injury? You assure me, that my logic is puerile and tinsel; that it carries not the least weight or conviction; that my premises are false, and my conclusions absurd. If this be a just description of me, how is it possible for such a writer to disturb your peace of mind, or to injure a character so well established as yours? Take care, Sir William, how you indulge this unruly temper, lest the world should suspect, that conscience has some share in your resentments. You have more

Though you would fight, &c.] An insinuation of cowardly baseness of revenge in the Duke of Grafton, or the Duke of Bedford.

to fear from the treachery of your passions, than from any malevolence of mine.

I believe, Sir, you will never know me. A considerable time must certainly elapse, before we are personally acquainted. You need not, however, regret the delay, or suffer an apprehension, that any length of time can restore you to the Christian meekness of your temper, and disappoint your present indignation. If I understand your character, there is in your own breast a repository, in which your resentments may be safely laid up for future occasions; and preserved, without the hazard of diminution. The *Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret*, I thought had only belonged to the worst character of antiquity. The text is in Tacitus;—you know best where to look for the commentary.

JUNIUS.

The Odia, &c.] This was written by Tacitus, of Tiberius. Tacitus was evidently a favourite author with JUNIUS.

LETTER XXVI.

A WORD AT PARTING TO JUNIUS.

THIS is, on the whole, a well-written Letter. The tone of sentiment, in which Sir William Draper bids adieu to the hope of direct personal explanation from JUNIUS, is that of a man who feels himself humbled and convicted, yet takes comfort from the thought that he has been very harshly dealt with, and that scarcely any other man would have stood the same trial, better than himself. His interposition in favour of the Duke of Bedford, is artfully enough contrived to excite the public indignation against the barbarous cruelty of JUNIUS's attacks. His account of the dissensions, the agreements, the mutual treacheries, and the unsettling changes of the ministers, and other great political leaders, is in all respects happy enough, save that it produces ludicrous ideas where it was meant to give serious ones. There is, in the Letter, good sense and fine writing, but no wonderful acuteness of discernment.

SIR*,

2. October, 1769.

AS you have not favoured me with either of the *explanations* demanded of you, I can have

* *Measures and not men*, is the common cant of affected moderation; a base, counterfeit language, fabricated by knaves, and made

Measures and not men, &c.] JUNIUS has found it necessary, here, to introduce a note and an authority, to justify his severity against persons. The doctrine of his note is perfectly just. It is impossible effectually to oppose *measures*, without harassing also their authors by every art that is not absolutely base. The necessities of social life, demand this sort of conduct, and must, therefore, furnish an apology for it.

nothing more to say to you upon my *own* account. Your mercy to me, or tenderness for yourself, has been very great. The public will judge of your *motives*. If your excess of modesty forbids you to produce either the proofs, or yourself, I will excuse it. Take courage; I have not the temper of Tiberius, any more than the rank or power. You, indeed, are a tyrant of another sort; and, upon your political bed of torture, can excruciate any subject, from a first minister down to such a grub or butterfly as myself; like another detested tyrant of antiquity, can make the wretched sufferer fit the bed, if the bed will not fit the sufferer, by disjointing or tearing the trembling limbs, until they are stretched to its extremity. But courage, constancy and patience, under torments,

current among fools. Such gentle censure is not fitted to the present degenerate state of society. What does it avail, to expose the absurd contrivance or pernicious tendency of measures, if the man who advises or executes shall be suffered not only to escape with impunity, but even to preserve his power, and insult us with the favour of his Sovereign! I would recommend to the reader the whole of Mr. Pope's Letter to Doctor Arbuthnot, dated 26. July, 1734; from which the following is an extract: "To reform, and not to chastise, I am afraid is impossible: and that the best precepts, as well as the best laws, would prove of small use, if there were no examples to enforce them. To attack vices in the abstract, without touching persons, may be safe fighting indeed, but it is fighting with shadows. My greatest comfort and encouragement to proceed, has been to see, that those who have no shame, and no fear of any thing else, have appeared touched by my satires."

Takes courage, &c.] The sentiment in this period is a fine one, naturally introduced, and well expressed. The figures, and the course of thought in the next three periods are also admirable; in a style of eloquence different from that of JUNIUS, but not inferior.

have sometimes caused the most hardened monsters to relent, and forgive the object of their cruelty. You, Sir, are determined to try all that human nature can endure, until she expires: else, was it possible that you could be the author of that most inhuman letter to the Duke of Bedford, I have read with astonishment and horror? Where, Sir, where were the feelings of your own heart, when you could upbraid a most affectionate father with the loss of his only and most amiable son? Read over again those cruel lines of yours, and let them wring your very soul! Cannot political questions be discussed, without descending to the most odious personalities? Must you go wantonly out of your way, to torment declining age, because the Duke of Bedford may have quarrelled with those whose cause and politics you espouse? For shame! for shame! As you have *spoke daggers* to him, you may justly dread the *use* of them against your own breast, did a want of courage, or of noble sentiments, stimulate him to such mean revenge. He is above it; he is brave. Do you fancy, that your own base arts have infected our whole island? But your own reflections, your own conscience, must, and will, if you have any spark of humanity remaining, give him most ample vengeance. Not all the power of words, with which you are so graced, will ever

Was it possible, &c.] The expostulation with JUNIUS on account of his severity of attack on the Duke of Bedford, is, through this and the eight periods following, in a very fine style of eloquence. In all the subsequent part of what Sir William here says concerning that Duke, the defence is a very unlucky one, fitter to furnish to JUNIUS, new topics of invective, than to reduce him to silence.

wash out, or even palliate, this foul blot in your character. I have not time, at present, to dissect your letter so minutely as I could wish; but I will be bold enough to say, that it is (as to reason and argument) the most extraordinary piece of *florid impotence* that was ever imposed upon the eyes and ears of the too credulous and deluded mob. It accuses the Duke of Bedford of high treason. Upon what foundation? You tell us, " that the Duke's *pecuniary character* makes it more than *probable*, that he could not have made such sacrifices at the peace, without *some private compensations*; that his conduct carried with it an interior evidence, beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice."

My academical education, Sir, bids me tell you, that it is necessary to establish the truth of your first proposition, before you presume to draw inferences from it. First prove the avarice, before you make the rash, hasty and most wicked conclusion. This father, JUNIUS, whom you call avaricious, allowed that son eight thousand pounds a year. Upon his most unfortunate death, which your usual good-nature took care to remind him of, he greatly increased the jointure of the afflicted lady, his widow. Is this avarice? Is this doing good by *stealth*? It is upon record.

Florid impotence, &c.] Sir William errs as much in imputing *florid impotence* to the writing of JUNIUS, as in praising it for *Attic wit*.

Eight thousand pounds a year.] Eight thousand pounds a year, out of at least forty thousand, was no very liberal allowance to an only son. Sir William is not lucky in the mentioning of this fact.

If exact order, method and true economy, as a master of a family; if splendor and just magnificence, without wild waste and thoughtless extravagance, may constitute the character of an avaricious man, the Duke is guilty. But for a moment, let us admit, that an ambassador may love money too much; what proof do you give, that he has taken any, to betray his country? Is it hearsay; or the evidence of letters, or ocular; or the evidence of those concerned in this black affair? Produce your authorities to the public. It is a most impudent kind of sorcery, to attempt to blind us with the smoke, without convincing us that fire has existed. You at first brand him with a vice that he is free from, to render him odious and suspected. Suspicion is the foul weapon with which you make all your chief attacks; with that you stab. But shall one of the first subjects of the realm be ruined in his fame; shall even his life be in constant danger, from a charge built upon such sandy foundations? Must his house be besieged by lawless ruffians, his journey impeded, and even the asylum of an altar

Let us admit that an ambassador may love money, &c.] In the following Letter, the reader will find JUNIUS taking advantage very skilfully of this concession.

To blind us with the smoke, &c.] To make a simile or metaphor happy, there must always be truth, or at least natural propriety, in the facts which you assume for the illustrative part of your figure. But, as the presence of smoke is always a proof of the existence of fire somewhere; *this* figure of Sir William Draper's is, therefore, absolute nonsense.

Must his house be besieged, &c.] This period, and indeed the whole subsequent train of the paragraph, are even ridiculously improper.

be insecure, from assertions so base and false? Potent as he is, the Duke is amenable to justice; if guilty, punishable. The parliament is the high and solemn tribunal for matters of such great moment. To that be they submitted. But I hope also, that some notice will be taken of, and some punishment inflicted upon, false accusers; especially upon such, JUNIUS, who are *wilfully false*. In any truth, I will agree even with JUNIUS; will agree with him, that it is highly unbecoming the dignity of Peers, to tamper with boroughs. *Aristocracy is as fatal as democracy*. Our constitution admits of neither. It loves a King, Lords and Commons, really chosen by the unbought suffrages of a free people. But if corruption only shifts hands: if the wealthy commoner gives the bribe, instead of the potent Peer, is the state better served by this exchange? Is the real emancipation of the borough effected, because new parchment bonds may possibly supersede the old? To say the truth, wherever such practices prevail, they are equally criminal to, and destructive of our freedom.

The rest of your declamation is scarce worth considering, except for the elegance of the language. Like Hamlet in the play, you produce two pictures: you tell us, that one is not like the Duke of Bedford; then you bring a most hideous caricatura, and tell us of the resemblance; but *multam abludit imago*.

You produce two pictures, &c.] This period is abundantly happy; easier, but scarcely less forcible, than the writing of JUNIUS himself.

All your long tedious accounts of the ministerial quarrels, and the intrigues of the cabinet, are reducible to a few short lines; and to convince you, Sir, that I do not mean to flatter any minister, either past or present, these are my thoughts: they seem to have acted like lovers, or children; have* pouted, quarrelled, cried, kissed, and been friends again; as the objects of desire, the ministerial rattles, have been put into their hands. But such proceedings are very unworthy of the gravity and dignity of a great nation. We do not want men of abilities; but we have wanted steadiness; we want unanimity; your Letter, JUNIUS, will not contribute thereto. You may one day expire by a flame of your own kindling. But it is my humble opinion, that lenity and moderation, pardon and oblivion, will disappoint the efforts of all the seditious in the land, and extinguish their wide-spreading fires. I have lived with this sentiment; with this I shall die.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

Have pouted, quarrelled, cried, &c.] This is a ludicrous description of the conduct of the ministers; and there is a want of propriety in introducing it where it stands. But it is faithful, and even prettily picturesque.

* Sir William gives us a pleasant account of men who, in his opinion, at least, are the best qualified to govern an empire.

Expire by a flame of your own kindling.] The common fate of those who are the first leaders in all great political revolutions.

Lenity and moderation, &c.] The ill-humour of the city of London; the case of Wilkes and the Middlesex election; the rising discontents of America; are, what Sir William here alludes to.

LETTER XXVII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

IN this Letter, JUNIUS makes a lively and eloquent reply to what-ever seemed much to deserve notice, in the last epistle from Sir William Draper.

He endeavours to throw ridicule on those passages of that epistle, in which Sir William complained of his own wrongs. He strives to render his opponent's aid suspicious to the Duke of Bedford. Himself he dexterously exculpates from the charge of wanton and barbarous cruelty against the Duke; a charge which, as it should seem, Sir William Draper had not been the only person to urge, since the publication of the invective in which that nobleman was so furiously attacked. With menaces, in which it were hard to say, whether the majesty of genius or the blustering of vanity predominate, he strives to make the Duke and his friends shrink under the terror of new abuse. Where his reasonings had seemed the least invincible, he successfully address all the force and artifice of persuasion of which he was master, there to produce unshaken belief. Even where Sir William Draper's opinions might seem almost to coincide with his own, he yet contrives to cover them with ridicule and contempt.

This Letter seems to be somewhat carelessly written. And yet, the reasoning and the rhetoric are, in one or two of the paragraphs, very elaborately wrought.

SIR,

.13. October, 1769.

IF Sir William Draper's bed be a bed of torture, he has made it for himself. I shall never in-

He has made it for himself.] This expression seems sufficiently clear and forcible in its meaning. But, it is the pert language of a chamber-maid; and, therefore, does not fall happily from the pen of JUNIUS.

I shall never interrupt his repose.] This expression, connected as it is, with the former member of the period in which it stands,

interrupt his repose. Having changed the subject, there are parts of his last Letter, not undeserving of a reply. Leaving his private character and conduct out of the question, I shall consider him merely in the capacity of an author, whose labours certainly do no discredit to a newspaper.

We say, in common discourse, that a man may be his own enemy; and the frequency of the fact makes the expression intelligible. But that a man should be the bitterest enemy of his friends, implies a contradiction of a peculiar nature. There is something in it which cannot be conceived without a confusion of ideas, nor expressed without a solecism in language. Sir William Draper is still that fatal friend Lord Granby found him. Yet I am ready

was laughed at as an Iricism. JUNIUS's own defence of it, will be found in a subsequent Letter. I cannot, however, think it perfectly satisfactory.

A confusion of ideas, &c.] Such confusion takes place, whenever two or more ideas are so huddled together in the mind, that their agreements and differences cannot be clearly discerned. *A solecism in language*, is precisely the same thing as an Iricism. The term was applied by the Athenians, to the speech of certain Asiatic colonists from Attica, who were liable to blunder in their Greek speech, nearly in the same manner in which we accuse the Irish of blundering in English.

Lord Granby.] The following particulars may be added to what has been already mentioned concerning the Marquis of Granby, in these notes.

He was born on the 2d of January 1721. In six successive parliaments, he was a member of the House of Commons. He levied a regiment, in the year 1745, to oppose the Scottish rebellion. On

to do justice to his generosity ; if, indeed, it be not something more than generous, to be the voluntary advocate of men who think themselves injured by his assistance, and to consider nothing in the cause he adopts but the difficulty of defending it. I thought, however, he had been better read in the history of the heart, than to compare or confound the tortures of the body with those of the mind. He ought to have known, though perhaps it might not be his interest to confess, that no outward tyranny can reach the mind. If conscience plays the tyrant, it would

the 4th of March 1755, he was promoted to the rank of a Major-General in the British Army. In May 1758, he was appointed Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards. He was raised, on the 5th of February 1759, to the rank of Lieutenant General. On the 25th of August in the same year, he was nominated Commander in Chief of the British forces then serving in Germany. He had been second in command under Lord George Sackville ; and the disgrace of that General, after the battle of Minden, made way for Lord Granby's promotion. He endeared himself to the officers and soldiers under his command, by his personal gallantry, by the gracious affability of his manners, and by the profuse liberality with which he almost beggared his own private fortune to supply their wants. On the 15th of September 1759, he was nominated Lieutenant General of the Ordnance. On the 2d of May 1760, he was raised to the dignity of a Privy Counsellor. May 14th 1763 he was appointed Master General of the Ordnance. February 21, 1764, he was made Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire. On the 17th of January 1770, he resigned all his offices, except only the command of his regiment. He died of the gout, at Belvoir Castle, on the 18th of October, in the same year. The present Duke of Rutland is his grandson.

I thought, however, he had been better read, &c.] If this and the two following periods allude to what Sir William Draper said of a bed of torture, they are not happy. Sir William was perfectly correct in the use of that figure.

be greatly for the benefit of the world that she were more arbitrary, and far less placable, than some men find her.

But it seems I have outraged the feelings of a father's heart.—Am I, indeed, so injudicious? Does Sir William Draper think I would have hazarded my credit with a generous nation, by so gross a violation of the laws of humanity? Does he think I am so little acquainted with the first and noblest characteristic of Englishmen? Or, how will he reconcile such folly with an understanding so full of artifice as mine? Had *he* been a father, he would have been but little offended with the severity of the reproach, for his mind would have been filled with the justice of it. He would have seen that I did not insult the feelings of a father, but the father who felt nothing. He would have trusted to the evidence of his own paternal heart; and boldly denied the possibility of the fact, instead of defending it. Against whom, then, will his honest indignation be directed, when I assure him, that this whole town beheld the Duke of Bedford's conduct, upon the death of his son, with horror and astonishment. Sir William Draper does himself but little honour, in opposing the general sense of his country. The people are seldom wrong in their opinions,—in their sentiments they are never mistaken. There may be a vanity, perhaps, in a singular way of thinking;—but, when a man professes a want of those feelings which do honour to the multitude, he hazards something infinitely more important, than

the character of his understanding. After all, as Sir William may possibly be in earnest in his anxiety for the Duke of Bedford, I should be glad to relieve him from it. He may rest assured, this worthy nobleman laughs, with equal indifference at *my* reproaches, and Sir William's distress about him. But here let it stop. Even the Duke of Bedford, insensible as he is, will consult the tranquillity of his life, in not provoking the moderation of my temper. If, from the profoundest contempt, I should ever rise into anger, he would soon find, that all I have already said of him, was lenity and compassion.

Out of a long catalogue, Sir William Draper has confined himself to the refutation of two charges only. The rest he had not time to discuss, and indeed it would have been a laborious undertaking. To draw

He may rest assured, this worthy nobleman laughs, &c.] This whole paragraph is written with very masterly address. JUNIUS had been thought too outrageous in his attack on the Duke of Bedford. His popularity had even suffered by it. Sir William Draper had taken up this topic, as one with which he might perhaps gain some advantage over his adversary. In this paragraph, therefore, JUNIUS makes it his business to evince, that the Duke of Bedford's feelings were much too callous to feel even what the decencies of nature required, upon any occasion of ignominy or affliction: and that, if he himself had not been fully aware of this, he would not have pursued the Duke with invective, at a time when he might have been supposed to be overwhelmed with sorrow, on account of the death of his son, that no personal abuse could aggravate, and no soothing console. JUNIUS is, in this instance, certainly successful, both in exculpating himself, in representing Sir William Draper as a simpleton, and in exciting new odium against the Duke of Bedford.

up a defence of such a series of enormities, would have required a life at least as long as that which has been uniformly employed in the practice of them. The public opinion of the Duke of Bedford's extreme economy is, it seems, entirely without foundation. Though not very prodigal abroad, in his own family, at least, he is regular and magnificent. He pays his debts, abhors a beggar, and makes a handsome provision for his son. His charity has improved upon the proverb, and ended where it began. Admitting the whole force of this single instance of his domestic generosity, (wonderful indeed, considering the narrowness of his fortune, and the little merit of his only son) the public may still, perhaps, be dissatisfied, and demand some other less equivocal proofs of his munificence. Sir William Draper should have entered boldly into the detail—of indigence relieved—of arts encouraged—of science patronized;—men of learning protected, and works of genius rewarded;—in short, had there been a single instance, besides Mr. Rigby*, of blushing merit brought forward by the Duke, for the service of the public, it should not have been omitted.

In short, had there been a single instance, &c.] JUNIUS is, also, sufficiently successful in the extenuation which this paragraph contains, of the praise of the Duke of Bedford's munificence. Yet, the Duke does not appear to have been that meanly avaricious being, JUNIUS had represented him at the first. *Rigby* is said to have been a bold, bad, dissolute, corrupt man, the patronage of whom could do his Grace no honour.

* This gentleman is supposed to have the same idea of *blushing*, that a man blind from his birth has of scarlet or sky blue.

I wish it were possible to establish my inference with the same certainty, on which I believe the principle is founded. My conclusion, however, was not drawn from the principle alone. I am not so unjust, as to reason from one crime to another; though I think that, of all the vices, avarice is most apt to taint and corrupt the heart. I combined the known temper of the man with the extravagant concessions made by the ambassador; and though, I doubt not, sufficient care was taken to leave no document of any treasonable negociation, I still maintain, that the conduct* of this minister, carries with it, an internal and convincing evidence, against him. Sir William Draper seems not to know the value or force of such a proof. He will not permit us to judge of the motives of men, by the manifest tendency of their actions, nor by the notorious character of their minds. He calls for papers and witnesses, with a triumphant security, as if nothing could be true, but what could be proved in a court of justice. Yet a religious man might have remembered, upon what foundation some truths most interesting to mankind, have been received and established. If it were not for the internal evidence, which the purest of religions carries with it, what

* If Sir W. D. will take the trouble of looking into Torcy's Memoirs, he will see with what little ceremony a bribe may be offered to a Duke, and with what little ceremony it was *only not accepted*.

If it were not for the internal evidence, &c.] JUNIUS never alludes to subjects of religion, otherwise than in a manner that shews his mind not to have been impressed with due reverence for religious truth. This reference to the internal evidences of christianity, is light, profane, and unworthy of true eloquence.

would have become of his once well-quoted decalogue, and of the meekness of his Christianity?

The generous warmth of his resentment makes him confound the order of events. He forgets that the insults and distresses which the Duke of Bedford has suffered, and which Sir William has lamented, with many delicate touches, of the true pathetic, were only recorded in my letter to his Grace, not occasioned by it. It was a simple, candid, narrative of facts; though, for aught I know, it may carry with it something prophetic. His Grace, undoubtedly, has received several ominous hints; and I think, in certain circumstances, a wise man would do well to prepare himself for the event.

But I have a charge of a heavier nature against Sir William Draper. He tells us that the Duke of Bedford is amenable to justice;—the parliament is a high and solemn tribunal; and that, if guilty, he may be punished by due course of law: and all this he says with as such gravity as if he believed one word of the matter. I hope, indeed, the day of impeachment will arrive, before this nobleman escapes out of life;—but to refer us to that mode of proceeding

Only recorded in my Letter to his Grace, not occasioned by it.] That part of Sir William Draper's last Letter, to which this paragraph is an answer, was ridiculously absurd. But JUNIUS makes its absurdity still more strikingly conspicuous.

But to refer us to that mode of proceeding now, &c.] It is true, as JUNIUS suggests, and Sir William Draper could not but know, that no man can be brought to justice, while the powers of the govern-

now, with such a ministry, and such a House of Commons, at the present, what is it, but an indecent mockery of the common sense of the nation? I think he might have contented himself with defending the greatest enemy, without insulting the distresses of his country.

His concluding declaration of his opinion, with respect to the present condition of affairs, is to loose and undetermined, to be of any service to the public. How strange is it, that this gentleman should dedicate so much time and argument to the defence of worthless or indifferent characters, while he gives but seven solitary lines to the only subject which can deserve his attention, or do credit to his abilities!

JUNIUS.

ment, and the legislature, are under his controul.—Sir William Draper did not answer this Letter. But he again wrote in the newspaper, a few years afterwards, on the subject of the troubles in America,

LETTER XXVIII.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

WHEN Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Bedford, being informed of the merits and the necessities of Mrs. Griffith, a lady distinguished for some excellent writings of morality and fiction, bestowed for the benefit of her and her husband a small appointment, by which they were set above want. He had been prompted by no motive, save the desire to relieve indigence, and patronize merit. But the gratitude of Mrs. Griffith, interposed on an occasion the most seasonable, to vindicate the fame of her benefactor. JUNIUS had demanded to hear of but a single instance of indigence relieved, and works of genius rewarded, by the Duke of Bedford. Mrs. Griffith produced that instance: and no small impression was made by it on the mind of the public, in favour of the Duke.

JUNIUS replies in this short Letter. This reply is not satisfactory. He strives to distinguish between what the Duke did as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and what he should have done as Duke of Bedford. This is a distinction which he had not thought of making, when he insolently asserted, that no one instance of discriminating generosity by the Duke, could be mentioned. I should wish that JUNIUS had been more candid. But, it is the interest of a disputant to grant nothing to his adversary, unless he can gain more than he loses by the concession.

SIR,

20. October, 1769.

I VERY sincerely applaud the spirit with which a lady has paid the debt of gratitude to her benefactor. Though I think she has mistaken the point, she shews a virtue which makes her respectable. The question turned upon the personal gene-

rosity or avarice of a man, whose private fortune is immense. The proofs of his munificence must be drawn from the uses to which he has applied that fortune. I was not speaking of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but of a rich English Duke, whose wealth gave him the means of doing as much good in this country, as he derived from his power in another. I am far from wishing to lessen the merit of this single benevolent action;—perhaps it is the more conspicuous from standing alone. All I mean to say is, that it proves nothing in the present argument.

JUNIUS.

LETTER XXIX.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

THE Duke of Bedford found other defenders, beside *Mrs. Griffith*. One writer in particular, subscribing the signature of *Modestus*, and whom JUNIUS chose to consider as being, in truth, no other than *Mr. Rigby*, published in the newspaper named the *Gazetteer*, a Letter, boldly attacking JUNIUS, and not unskilfully defending the Duke of Bedford. It was necessary that this writer should not be suffered to triumph without a reply. In the following Letter and under the persona of *PHILO-JUNIUS*, the eloquent political satirist has sufficiently refuted the assertions, and spurned back the puny assault, of *Modestus*.

The excellence of the style of these Letters, appeared to those, who disliked them, to be a primary cause of their popularity. It was judged that, if contempt could be brought upon them, as pieces of eloquence, the name of JUNIUS would cease to be formidable. *Modestus*, therefore, represented their composition, as miserably quaint and incorrect; quoted phrases, of which he affirmed that the blundering inconsistency proved the author to be an Irishman; and maintained, that he who could commit such solecisms in style, must be utterly incapable of distinguishing the just in inferences of reasoning, and of estimating the truth of facts.

JUNIUS employs, in the following Letter, his wonted artifice, quick-sighted discernment, and force of argumentation. He begins with disclaiming all pretensions to eloquence and fine writing; then, in every instance in which he had seemed to be successfully harassed by the criticism of *Modestus*, either satisfactorily refutes that criticism, or turns the critic so effectually into ridicule, that the reader entirely forgets that his remark could be right. Nor is even his Grace of Bedford suffered to escape, without having the severity of the former invective upon him enhanced, on account of the officious interposition of his defender.

This is a good model for any man to study, who may, in like manner, wish to vindicate himself against the attack of bold, malignant criticism.

SIR,

19. October, 1769.

I AM well assured that JUNIUS will never descend to a dispute with such a writer as *Modestus*, (whose Letter appeared in the Gazetteer of Monday) especially as the dispute must be chiefly about words. Notwithstanding the partiality of the Public, it does not appear that JUNIUS values himself upon any superior skill in composition, and I hope his time will always be more usefully employed than in the trifling refinements of verbal criticism. *Modestus*, however, shall have no reason to triumph in the silence and moderation of JUNIUS. If he knew as much of the propriety of language, as I believe he does of the facts in question, he would have been as cautious of attacking JUNIUS upon his composition, as he seems to be of entering into the subject of it; yet, after all, the last is the only article of any importance to the public.

I do not wonder at the unremitted rancour with which the Duke of Bedford and his adherents inva-

As I believe he does of the facts in question, &c.] JUNIUS, watchful to seize every advantage, infers, with some skill, that they who found fault only with his language, must be conscious that his facts were incontrovertible. In this manner, ought every disputant to deduce still new proofs from every inadvertency or concession of his adversary.

I do not wonder, &c.] With admirable address, JUNIUS takes occasion to excite the people of both Ireland and England, to higher provocation against the Duke of Bedford, because *Modestus* had

riably speak of a nation, which we well know has been too much injured to be easily forgiven. But why must JUNIUS be an Irishman?—*The absurdity of his writings betrays him.*—Waving all consideration of the insult offered by *Modestus* to the declared judgment of the people, (they may well bear this among the rest) let us follow the several instances, and try whether the charge be fairly supported.

First, then—The leaving a man to enjoy such repose as he can find upon a bed of torture, is severe indeed; perhaps too much so, when applied to such a trifler as Sir William Draper; but there is nothing absurd, either in the idea or expression. *Modestus* cannot distinguish between a sarcasm and a contradiction.

2. I affirm, with JUNIUS, that it is the *frequency* of the fact, which alone can make us comprehend how a man can be his own enemy. We should never arrive at the complex idea conveyed by those words, if we had only seen one or two instances of a man acting to his own prejudice. Offer the pro-

said that JUNIUS was an Irishman, and that his Letters were not well written.

Distinguish between a sarcasm and a contradiction.] JUNIUS is here more successful in confounding *Modestus* by a smart reply, than in justifying the correctness of his own former expression.

I affirm, &c.] This is a very fine specimen, both of logical acuteness, and of a discerning knowledge of human nature. The passage here defended is in the second paragraph of the Twenty-seventh Letter. The defence runs to the end of the present, and the next following paragraphs. It is complete.

position to a child, or a man unused to compound his ideas, and you will soon see how little either of them understand you. It is not a simple idea, arising from a single fact; but a very complex idea, arising from many facts, well observed, and accurately compared.

3. MODESTUS could not, without great affectation, mistake the meaning of JUNIUS, when he speaks of a man who is the bitterest enemy of his friends. He could not but know, that JUNIUS spoke not of a false or hollow friendship, but of a real intention to serve, and that intention producing the worst effects of enmity. Whether the description be truly applicable to Sir William Draper, is another question. JUNIUS does not say, that it is more *criminal* for a man to be the enemy of his friends than his own, though he might have affirmed it with truth. In a moral light, a man may certainly take greater liberties with himself than with another. To sacrifice ourselves merely, is a weakness we may indulge in, if we think proper, for we do it at our own hazard and expense: but under the pretence of friendship, to sport with the reputation or sacrifice the honour of another, is something worse than weakness; and if, in favour of the foolish intention, we do not call it a crime, we must allow, at least, that it arises from an overweening, busy, meddling impudence.—JUNIUS says only, and he says truly, that it is more extraordinary, that it involves a greater contradiction than the other; and is it not a maxim received in life, that

in general we can determine more wisely for others than for ourselves? The reason of it is so clear in argument, that it hardly wants the confirmation of experience. Sir William Draper, I confess, is an exception to the general rule, though not much to his credit.

4. If this gentleman will go back to his Ethics, he may perhaps discover the truth of what JUNIUS says, *that no outward tyranny can reach the mind*. The tortures of the body may be introduced by way of ornament or illustration to represent those of the mind; but, strictly there is no similitude between them. They are totally different, both in their cause and operation. The wretch who suffers upon the rack is merely passive; but when the mind is tortured, it is not at the command of any outward power; it is the sense of guilt which constitutes the punishment, and creates that torture with which the guilty mind acts upon itself

5. He misquotes what JUNIUS says of conscience; and makes the sentence ridiculous, by making it his own.

[*The tortures of the body, &c.*] Here I think JUNIUS entirely unsuccessful in defending what he was blamed for having too hastily thrown out. But, he has, in truth, given up the point, by allowing that *the tortures of the body may be used by way of similitude or illustration, to represent those of the mind*. The reader will recollect the passages to which allusion is here made, to have occurred in former Letters.

So much for composition. Now for fact.—JUNIUS it seems, has mistaken the Duke of Bedford. His Grace had all the proper feelings of a father, though he took care to suppress the appearance of them. Yet it was an occasion, one would think, on which he need not have been ashamed of his grief;—on which less fortitude would have done him more honour. I can conceive, indeed, a benevolent motive for his endeavouring to assume an air of tranquillity in his own family; and I wish I could discover any thing, in the rest of his character, to justify my assigning that motive to his behaviour. But is there no medium? Was it necessary to appear abroad, to ballot at the India-House, and make a public display, though it were only of an apparent insensibility?—I know we are treading on tender ground; and JUNIUS, I am convinced, does not wish to urge this question farther. Let the friends of the Duke of Bedford observe that humble silence which becomes their situation. They should recollect, that there are still some facts in store, at which human nature would shudder. I shall be understood by those whom it concerns, when I say that these facts go farther than to the Duke*.

Yet it was an occasion, one would think, &c.] It had been better for the reputation of the Duke of Bedford, if JUNIUS had not been provoked to write this paragraph, and the note which accompanies it.

In every one of the subsequent paragraphs, to the end of the Letter, JUNIUS wounds deep, with an aim that reaches the vitals, and with an envenomed point, the piercing of which is not to be healed.

* Within a fortnight after Lord Tavistock's death, the venerable Gertrude had a rout at Bedford House. The good Duke (who had

It is not inconsistent, to suppose that a man may be quite indifferent about one part of a charge, yet severely stung with another; and though he feels no remorse, that he may wish to be revenged. The charge of insensibility carries a reproach, indeed, but danger with it.—JUNIUS had said, *there are others who would assassinate*. Modestus, knowing his man, will not suffer the insinuation to be divided, but fixes it all upon the Duke of Bedford.

Without determining upon what evidence JUNIUS would *choose to be condemned*, I will venture to maintain, in opposition to Modestus, or to Mr. Rigby (who is certainly not Modestus) or any other of the Bloomsbury gang, that the evidence against the Duke of Bedford is as strong as any presumptive evidence can be. It depends upon a combination of facts and reasoning, which require no confirmation from the anecdote of the Duke of Marlborough. This anecdote was referred to, merely to shew how ready a great man may be to receive a great bribe; and if Modestus could read the original, he would see that

only sixty thousand pounds a year) ordered an inventory to be taken of his son's wearing apparel, down to his slippers, sold them all, and put the money in his pocket. The amiable Marchioness, shocked at such brutal, unfeeling avarice, gave the value of the clothes to the Marquis's servant, out of her own purse. That incomparable woman did not long survive her husband. When she died, the Duchess of Bedford treated her as the Duke had treated his only son. She ordered every gown and trinket to be sold, and pocketed the money.—These are the monsters whom Sir William Draper comes forward to defend.—May God protect *me* from doing any thing that may require such defence, or deserve such friendship!

the expression, *only not accepted*, was, probably, the only one in our language, that exactly fitted the case. The bribe, offered to the Duke of Marlborough, was not refused.

I cannot conclude, without taking notice of this honest gentleman's learning, and wishing he had given us a little more of it. When he accidentally found himself so near speaking truth, it was rather unfair of him to leave out the *non potuisse refelli*. As it stands, the *pudit hæc approbria* may be divided equally between Mr. Rigby and the Duke of Bedford. Mr. Rigby, I take for granted, will assert his natural right to the modesty of the quotation, and leave all the opprobrium to his Grace.

PHILO-JUNIUS.

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